

'ORADORES' AND 'DEFENSORES' : DEATH IN
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILE

Laura Vivanco

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Laura Vivanco

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I have sought to investigate the attitudes towards death held by the elite of Castilian secular and ecclesiastical society in fifteenth-century Castile, the *defensores* and *oradores*. Although many wide-ranging studies of death in the Middle Ages exist, previous studies of death in this region and period have tended to be limited in scope and used a relatively narrow source-base. Possible differences in ideology between *defensores* and *oradores* have largely been ignored and these two estates have tended to be grouped together, inasmuch as they are thought to have formed an elite of society, and contrasted with the mass of the population, the *labradores*. Using a variety of literary, historical and legal texts I have examined the way in which types of death were classified, their expected consequences in the afterlife and the responses of the bereaved. I have sought to demonstrate that *oradores* and *defensores* had two distinct and coherent ideologies which manifested themselves in their approaches to death.

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I. INTRODUCTION

LEY ES DE TODA COSA BIVIENTE QUE HA DE MORIR (Córdoba 1964a: 61)¹

Death and the fifteenth century have long been closely associated in the minds of historians and literary critics of the period. Johan Huizinga, for example, stated that, 'No other epoch has laid so much stress as the expiring Middle Ages on the thought of death. An everlasting call of *memento mori* resounds through life' (1924: 124). Huizinga's influence has been considerable: Erna Ruth Berndt, for example, referred to him when she argued that, 'Ninguna otra época, con excepción, quizá, de la nuestra, ha dado tanta importancia a la consideración de la muerte como los siglos XIV y XV' (1963: 74), adding that in Spain the theme of death, 'quizá nunca preocupó tanto a escritores y poetas como durante el siglo XV' (1963: 85). Jacques Chiffolleau spoke of 'la Grande Melancolie qu'évoque si bien Huizinga' (1983: 128) and, according to Jeremy Lawrance, 'El tono dominante del arte y literatura elegíaca y funeraria del siglo XV, esbozado en unas páginas brillantes de Johan Huizinga, se caracterizaba por la nota sorda y adusta de las *Danzas macabras* y por las imágenes plásticas de cadáveres y gusanos' (1998: 3). Huizinga's analysis suggested that in the fifteenth century, a century obsessed with death, individuals responded with either an extreme and austere repudiation of the body and its pleasures, or else embraced such worldly delights in a frenzy of individualistic hedonism, 'the pious exhortations to think of death and the profane exhortations to make the most of youth almost meet' (Huizinga 1924: 126). Thus, though some individuals, including Juan Álvarez Gato, may have been moved by such sights as 'vna pared hecha de huesos de defuntos' (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 251) to advise 'que mires / en ser en vida mejor' (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 251), we know it was

indeed possible for others to react to similar displays in a very different manner.²

Huizinga described one location in which macabre imagery was unavoidable:

Nowhere else were all the images tending to evoke the horror of death assembled so strikingly as in the churchyard of the Innocents at Paris. There the medieval soul, fond of a religious shudder, could take its fill of the horrible (1924: 133).

The décor included a wall-painting of the *Dance of Death* in its cloister, placed 'above rows of charnel houses where actual bones were exposed, a dismal décor which did not prevent these cloisters from being one of the popular rendezvous of Paris' (Boase 1972: 104). This popularity, and the fact that 'prostitutes strolled under the cloisters' (Huizinga 1924: 134) reinforce Huizinga's argument that while *memento mori* engendered repentance in some, in others they encouraged licentiousness by reminding them of the shortness of life.³

The ambiguity of the macabre, and the responses it provoked, have led critics to disagree on whether it had a primarily spiritual or secular origin. Their arguments have been summarised by Fernando Martínez Gil, according to whom:

Para unos, hay que hablar de un origen profano y una posterior apropiación eclesiástica; para otros, el mecanismo fue accionado por la propia Iglesia, que no llegó a prever algunos de sus efectos. Los primeros ven en lo macabro un indicio del proceso de secularización o, como podría decirse también, un aumento de la capacidad de contestación; los segundos lo consideran un arma conservadora empleada para combatir ese mismo proceso (1996: 67).

Whatever the original intention of the creators of the macabre, it is certainly the case that the Church used imagery of death and of punishment in the afterlife to warn, and perhaps shock, those who had not considered their own mortality into properly preparing for death, so that they might thus gain eternal life. This is Death's message in the *Danza de la Muerte*:

¹ Fray Martín de Córdoba's *Compendio de la fortuna* was written between 1440 and 1453 (*Prosistas castellanos* 1964: xxiv).

² Juan Álvarez Gato, a *converso*, was born c. 1440-50 and died c. 1510 (Deyerdmond 1971: 200).

la Santa Escriptura con certenidad
da sobre todo su firme sentencia;
a todos diciendo: Faced penitencia,
que a morir habedes, non sabedes cuándo (1981: 21).⁴

The popularity of the *Ars moriendi*, a guide on how to die a good death which 'has an indisputable predecessor in Gerson's work of the same title, third part of his famous *Opusculum tripartitum*, which dates from 1408' (Álvarez Alonso 1990: 29), is attested by the fact that throughout Europe 'editions of it were made from woodblocks and from movable type well over a hundred times before 1500' (O'Connor 1966: 1-2).⁵ This suggests that there were relatively large numbers of medieval people interested in making pious preparations for their own deaths. Furthermore, the many testaments and their contents, which survive from the period, bear witness to the fact that many individuals did indeed prepare for death and approach it in accordance with the teaching of the Church.

Equally certainly, as in the example of the Cemetery of the Innocents, reminders of death did not always provoke piety and could even be associated with the pleasures of the flesh. The actions of many of *Celestina*'s characters have been understood in terms of this type of response, 'la presencia de la muerte, su inexorabilidad y la conciencia del paso del tiempo, le dan a la vida un valor especial. Todos los personajes quieren vivirla intensamente, quieren cumplir sus deseos' (Berndt 1963: 97). Much mention is made in *Celestina* of the shortness of life and youth, and how it should

³ According to Paul Binski the cemetery was 'a favourite haunt of prostitutes' (1996: 56).

⁴ The edition of the *Danza* I have used calls it the *Danza de la Muerte* but it is more usually known as the *Dança general de la Muerte*. Anonymous and of uncertain chronology, it forms part of a wider European tradition of *Dances of Death*. It is generally agreed that the *Danza* was 'composed in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century' (Deyrmond 1971: 190). Unless otherwise specified, any references to the *Danza* are to this version. For a detailed analysis of the various controversies surrounding the *Danza* see Víctor Infantes, *Las Danzas de la Muerte: Génesis y desarrollo de un género medieval (siglos XIII-XVII)* (1997).

⁵ I have used four Castilian editions of the *Arte de bien morir*. The three edited by María Álvarez Alonso are of the longer version, usually designated CP: 'E' (Monasterio de El Escorial, MS III.H.8), 'N' (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 6485) and 'O' ([Zaragoza; Johan Hurus, 1488-1489?] Bodleian Library, Oxford (Auct.Q6.29)) (Álvarez Alonso 1990: 52). The fourth, edited by Francisco Gago Jover is

therefore be enjoyed to the maximum. Elicia states the doctrine very clearly, 'no avemos de vivir para siempre. Gozemos y holguemos, que la vejez pocos la veen, y de los que la veen ninguno murió de hambre' (Rojas 1998: 210).⁶ María Rosa Lida de Malkiel has noted of *Celestina*:

que nunca se destacará lo bastante [...] su aguda conciencia de tiempo. [...] Tal sentimiento de lo fugitivo del tiempo es la otra cara de su intensa absorción en la vida, que reduce la muerte y el más allá a conceptos negativos, sin existencia propia (1962: 169).

Even if thoughts of death did not become a direct spur to worldliness, there was no guarantee that the repentance they provoked would be long-lasting. According to the chronicler Diego Enríquez del Castillo the dying Doña María Puertocarrero, Marquesa de Villena, attempted to recall her husband, Don Juan Pacheco, favourite of Enrique IV (1454-1474), to the paths of righteousness.⁷ After noting that he had already lost his honour and besmirched his family's name, 'avéis cubierto vuestra persona de tanta infamia, e dexáis a vuestros hijos con tan feo apellido de desleal' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 210), she hoped that even if he could disregard these earthly considerations, he would act to salvage his standing in the next world:

Catad, señor, que sois mortal, e avéis de morir, e muerto, que seréis llevado delante de aquel juicio divinal, donde seréis acusado de vuestra ingratitud, e de la grand deslealtad [...]. E si no queréis condoleros de vuestra deshonra e infamia, habed dolor de vuestra alma, porque no se pierda, ni vaya con Judas condenada sin redención (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 210).⁸

He promised to do as she asked but in fact, 'más tardó ella en morir que él en olvidar la promesa que hizo' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 210). Enríquez del Castillo seems to have considered such disregard for the afterlife and the torments of Hell a widespread

of the shorter version, known as QS, printed in Zaragoza by Pablo Hurus between 1479 and 1484 (El Escorial, ms. 32-V-19) (*Arte* 1999: 34).

⁶ All quotations are from the later, extended, *Tragicomedia* version. The Burgos edition of the *Comedia* version is dated 1499 and 'las fechas que la crítica baraja como las más tempranas para la aparición de la *Tragicomedia* son las de 1500 o 1502' (Rojas 1998: 16).

⁷ All dates given in this manner for monarchs indicate the first and final years of their reigns.

phenomenon, for elsewhere in the same chronicle he bewails the state of Castile, where 'ni la potencia de Dios nos espanta, [...] ni el morir nos pone miedo, ni la memoria del infierno nos quita del mal vivir' (1914: 156). The *Arte de bien morir*, part of the *Ars moriendi* tradition which is often cited as evidence that there was a widespread preoccupation with death in this period, also laments the number of people who refuse to even think about death:

en nuestros tienpos vemos que muchos, así clérigos e rreligiosos como seglares, non se desponen e ordenan para rresçebir la muerte. E avn lo que es peor non qujeren della oýr cosa alguna esperando escapar avnque están en punto de muerte (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 164).

However, aspects of Huizinga's portrait of a fifteenth century marked by a stark dichotomy between deep, religious melancholy and frenetic, secular hedonism have been questioned. With regard to the macabre, for example:

Scholars, and the general public, have long conceived what Huizinga called the Waning Middle Ages as marked by a morbid concentration on death, judgement and bodily decay. Huizinga's own chapter on the fascination of death and Emile Mâle's long disquisition on funerary monuments and macabre paintings and woodcuts are illustrative of attitudes long held and perhaps insufficiently examined. References to the Black Death and the Schism, the *transi* tomb and the *Danse Macabré*, seemed for long to justify a picture of the late Middle Ages as morbidly bent on the contemplation of death.

More recent scholarship has enabled critics and historians to provide a much more nuanced picture (Taylor 1984: 7).

One may also challenge the chronological distinctions made by Huizinga and others, which established the fifteenth century in particular as one obsessed with death. Claude Sutto warned that:

cet intérêt presque'exclusif pour le XV^e siècle, encore qu'il s'expliquât par l'abondance et le caractère saisissant des sources, n'allait pas sans présenter de sérieux dangers. Il incitait à minimiser l'existence du sentiment de la mort dans les siècles où les témoignages étaient peut-être moins accessibles, moins évidents à première vue. Il justifiait en outre la conception, assez largement répandue, d'un

⁸ Here and in other instances I have regularised quotations from primary texts in line with modern accentuation, punctuation and capitalization. I have also emended spelling errors in English, French and modern Spanish quotations.

moyen âge à son déclin, marqué par des crises et des mutations [...] et, partant, particulièrement vulnérable au désespoir et à la mort (1979b: 11).

Emilio Mitre Fernández, whose analysis covers the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in particular, has indeed been led to conclude that distinctions between the end of the Middle Ages and earlier centuries have been exaggerated:

En lo que concierne a los sentimientos ante la muerte y la sensibilización de la sociedad del Occidente, podría decirse [...] que se da una acentuada continuidad, desde los tiempos apostólicos hasta más allá de las fronteras cronológicas del Medievo (1988: 132-133).

The Church had certainly been attempting to use the thought of death as an encouragement to repentance before the fifteenth century. In Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (c. 1250), for example, after an account of Teófilo's preparations for death the reader or listener is advised:

Amigos, si quisiédes vuestras almas salvar,
si vos el mi consejo quisiédes tomar,
fech vera confessión, non querades tardar,
e prendet penitencia, pensátla de guardar (1971: 232).

Likewise, the century which succeeded the fifteenth did not necessarily demonstrate a diminished interest in the subject. Lawrance has stated that there was a move towards a more stoical attitude at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 'presenció aquella época un auge del racionalismo estoico' (1998: 21), a view he supports by asserting that there are no Castilian copies of the *Ars moriendi* dating from after 1515, 'es notable que después de 1515 no se conserven nuevas ediciones' (1998: 11). However, Antonio Espino López and Francisco López Molina, in addition to studying the 1605 *Modo de aiudar a ben morir als qui per malatia o per justicia moren* of Pere Gil, have found 'hasta la fecha de edición de la obra de Pere Gil, inclusive, y sin contar las ediciones de autores foráneos, veinte títulos' (1994: 325).⁹ These *Artes moriendi*, all dating from the

⁹ These works, which Espino López and López Molina describe as being from 'nuestro país' (1994: 325), were almost all printed in the Iberian peninsula in Castilian, Catalan or Latin. Their authors were presumably all natives of the peninsula since additional works by Italians are mentioned separately.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are then listed (1994: 325-327). Carlos M. N.

Eire goes as far as to state that:

Although books on the art of dying had never been as popular in Spain throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century as they had been elsewhere in Western Europe, Spanish interest in this type of literature slowly began to increase in the late 1530s and built up considerable momentum after midcentury (1995: 26).

This would certainly suggest that the interest in death evident in the fifteenth century did not necessarily diminish in the sixteenth. Furthermore, the clearly macabre *Danza de la Muerte* was printed, with additions, in 1520 in Seville (Whyte 1931: 25). Such evidence supports Otis H. Green's assertion that:

the evolution from the Middle Ages to the late baroque was a continuous process of growth. The facts do not support the strangely persistent idea that the medieval fear of sin and punishment after death was followed by a period of lightheartedness, and that this in turn was supplanted by a renewal of the tragic sense of life's brevity and death's horrors. A study of the attitudes toward life and death shows that, in this area as in others, it is necessary to surrender the simplistic concept of separate time compartments, each with its own *Zeitgeist* (1966: 101).

Huizinga's presentation of a dichotomy of extreme emotional responses to death should also be nuanced. According to him:

The dominant thought, as expressed in the literature, both ecclesiastical and lay, of that period, hardly knew anything with regard to death but these two extremes: lamentation about the briefness of all earthly glory, and jubilation over the salvation of the soul. All that lay between – pity, resignation, longing, consolation – remained unexpressed and was, so to say, absorbed by the too much accentuated and too vivid representation of Death hideous and threatening (1924: 135).

To realise that people in the fifteenth century were indeed capable of a range of emotions far more complex than Huizinga's distinction between a morbid piety or a frenzied hedonism would suggest, one need only read Gómez Manrique's tender, consolatory *Consolatoria para doña Juana de Mendoça*, written for his wife after the decease of two of their children who, 'probably died in late 1481' (Sieber 1993: 155), or Juan Fernández de Valera's letter written after he had lost most of his close family to

the plague in 1422 and in which he states, 'me siento muy solo e desabrigado en esta çibdat' (Villena 1976: 5). In his grief Juan Fernández sought consolation and the recipient of the letter, Enrique de Villena, responded by composing the *Tratado de la consolación*. Even without such simplifications, Huizinga's approach to the late Middle Ages, strongly coloured by his interpretation of its responses to death, would appear to overemphasise this aspect of medieval existence at the expense of others. Death and thoughts about it were not necessarily as important in the lives of fifteenth-century individuals as Huizinga's study would lead us to believe. The chronicles, focussing as they do on political events, and reporting deaths primarily in the context of their influence on the course of such events, provide a reminder that the lives of medieval people were not necessarily dominated by thoughts of death.

Death in the Middle Ages has long proved a popular and fruitful area of academic study. It has been the subject of numerous conferences, including those held by the Association des Historiens Médiévistes Français at Strasbourg in 1975, by the Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Montréal in 1978 and by the University of Santiago de Compostela in 1986 and 1991.¹⁰ Of the longer works dealing with death in the Middle Ages over a wide geographical area and time-period, some are dedicated to specific subject areas, including art (Tenenti 1952), suicide (Murray 1998 & 2000), liturgy (Paxton 1990) and the afterlife (Patch 1950) while others, by authors including T. S. R. Boase (1972), Paul Binski (1996) and Danièle Alexandre-Bidon (1998) cover a range of practices and beliefs. Sections on the Middle Ages have also been included in works such as those of Philippe Ariès (1981) and Michel Vovelle (1983) which chart changes in attitudes towards death from the Middle Ages to the modern period.

¹⁰ For the proceedings of these conferences see: Guillemain, Chaunu & Thiriet 1977, Sutto 1979a, Núñez & Portela 1988 and *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte* II (1992).

Medieval Castile has perhaps been less studied than other countries, particularly England and France, but it has nonetheless attracted its share of critical attention, in a variety of subject areas. One of the most wide-ranging studies, both in terms of chronology and the primary sources used, is Ariel Guance's *Los discursos sobre la muerte en la Castilla medieval: siglos VII-XV* (1998), which focuses on religious approaches to death (with particular reference to canon law, hagiography and descriptions of journeys to the afterlife), secular legislation, the death of kings, dying *pro patria*, suicides and ghosts. Susana Royer de Cardinal's *Morir en España: Castilla Baja Edad Media* ([1992 (?)]) deals with the later Middle Ages in more detail and charts the process of dying from its various possible causes, through preparations made by the dying such as the writing of wills and the reception of the sacraments, to the treatment of the corpse, the religious assistance rendered to the soul, and issues surrounding burial and mourning, followed by a final section on poetry. Martínez Gil (1996) also deals with the later Middle Ages, focusing primarily on the Christian approach to death, burial and the afterlife and literary depictions of death, particularly the *Dances of Death* and the *Ars moriendi*.

Many of the areas covered in these books have also been the subject of more specialised works. The deaths of kings, for example, have been examined by Denis Menjot (1988), José Luis Martín (1991), Emilio Mitre Fernández (1992) and José Manuel Nieto Soria (1993: 97-118).¹¹ Wills have proved a highly useful source of evidence about attitudes to and practices concerning death. Many works which take them as their primary source-base focus on an individual town or region, including

¹¹ Menjot's comparison of the treatment of the corpse of the deceased monarch in Castile with that accorded French or English kings highlights significant differences and provides a reminder that while certain attitudes and practices with regard to death were common throughout medieval Christendom, there were regional and national variations. Although the existence of these differences has been accepted, their ideological and political significance has been disputed. For a summary of the responses of other historians to Menjot's conclusions see Guance (1998: 281-289).

Adeline Rucquoi (1988) based on late-fourteenth and fifteenth-century wills written in Valladolid, Amparo Bejarano Rubio (1990), focused on the late medieval period in Murcia, and María del Mar García Guzmán and Juan Abellán Pérez (1997), dealing with Jerez. Leonor Gómez Nieto's *Ritos funerarios en el Madrid medieval* (1991) in fact includes wills written between 1452 and 1558 and as Eire, who has himself studied sixteenth-century wills from Madrid, has observed, though 'the exact chronological proportions of the testamentary sample are never revealed, [...] the references to post-1520 wills far outnumber all others' (1995: 46n). Other will-based studies focus less on religious beliefs and practices than on what wills can reveal more generally about the society in which they were written. These include Margarita Cantera Montenegro's article on thirteenth to fifteenth-century Riojan wills (1987), Clara Isabel López Benito's analysis of the Salamancan nobility from 1476 to 1535 (1991: 229-373) and María del Carmen Carlé's articles on the Church (1985) and wealth (1988) in fifteenth-century society, as well as her *Una sociedad del siglo xv* (1993). Alongside these general studies are others which place a single will in the context of the life of its testator, such as those concerning Diego de Merlo (Herrera García 1980), Pedro Carrillo de Huete (Torres Fontes 1987) and Pedro Girón (Viña Brito 1989).

Historical approaches to death have been complemented by others which take art and literature as their points of departure. Various aspects of funerary art have been examined by Manuel Núñez Rodríguez (1988), María Jesús Gómez Barcena (1988) and Miguel Cortés Arrese (1999). Among the authors of literary studies of death in the Middle Ages, the *Dances of Death* have exercised a particular fascination, appearing briefly in many works on death and being the sole topic of books by Florence Whyte (1931), Joël Saugnieux (1972) and Víctor Infantes (1997). Other literary works which have attracted substantial critical attention from the viewpoint of their treatment of

death include the *Ars moriendi* (O'Connor [1966] and Espino López & López Molina [1994]), *Celestina* (Berndt [1963]; Easley [1983]; Deyermond [1984] and Haywood [2001]), Jorge Manrique's *Coplas por la muerte de su padre* (Krause [1937]; Salinas [1947: 133-233] and Gilman [1959]) and Gómez Manrique's *Defunción del noble cavallero Garcilasso de la Vega* (Sieber [1989] and Deyermond [1987 (1990)]). The sentimental romances as a group have been studied by Patricia E Grieve (1987), with the deaths of both Fiometa in Juan de Flores' *Grimalte y Gradisa* (Castro Lingl 1992-1993) and Leriano in Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor* attracting further critical attention.¹² Elegy is the subject of both Eduardo Camacho Guizado (1969) and María Emilia García Jiménez (1994). José Filgueira Valverde's somewhat misleadingly titled 'El "planto" en la historia y en la literatura gallega' (1945) is in fact a detailed discussion of the lament tradition in Latin, Provençal, Galician-Portuguese and Castilian, with particular reference to the legislation of Church Councils on the subject and Louise M. Haywood (2000b) provides a starting-point for further investigation of the inter-relationship between the lament tradition and gender. In the area of consolatory literature, Pedro M. Cátedra's 'Prospección sobre el género consolatorio en el siglo XV' (1993) gives an introduction to consolatory letters and lists a number of such works while Harry Sieber (1993) provides a detailed analysis of Gómez Manrique's *Consolatoria para doña Juana de Mendoça*.

Despite the wealth of critical works already in existence on the topic of death in medieval Castile, I feel there is still a need for a study such as mine which focuses on a single century, the fifteenth, and attempts to combine literary and other sources. As can be seen from the above, literary scholars have tended to produce studies of individual authors, texts or genres and though these may have been set in a slightly broader social,

¹² The articles devoted to Leriano's death and his final drink are numerous and can be found in the bibliography to Keith Whinnom's 1997 article on the subject.

historical or literary context, to my knowledge none has attempted to analyse attitudes to death in a wide variety of fifteenth-century literary texts and genres. Historians have often made limited or no use of literary texts, but where they have examined them in more detail, their usage has also tended to favour particular genres. Thus Guíance (1998) has a preference for those of a religious nature such as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and the works of Gonzalo de Berceo, Martínez Gil (1996) has sections on Berceo, the *Dances of Death* and the *Ars moriendi* and Royer de Cardinal ([1992 (?)]) dedicates her entire final chapter to poetry. In this thesis I have attempted to avoid the domination of any one genre through the balanced use of a wide variety of primary texts, in order to provide a nuanced interpretation of the *mentalités* or ideologies of their authors and thus, indirectly, of the society in which they were produced. Furthermore, though I examine practices surrounding death and dying, I have not attempted to provide a comprehensive account of all known practices since my primary interest is not so much in the practices *per se*, but rather what they reveal about the attitudes towards death prevalent in fifteenth-century Castilian society.

At all times and in all cultures human beings have had to confront the inevitability of death. Like birth, its counterpart at the beginning of life, death is an experience that awaits all of us regardless of social status, sex or any of the other factors which differentiate one individual from another during life. As Laureola in *Cárcel de Amor* observes in a grimly humorous comment to the *autor*, a Castilian visiting a fictional Macedonia, the tomb is the final resting place or home for all living beings and no-one can be a stranger to it, 'avísote, aunque seas estraño en la nación, que serás natural en la sepultura' (San Pedro 1985: 96).¹³ Nonetheless, different cultures have approached death from widely differing perspectives. Indeed, even within the same society one may discover differing paradigms. The matter would appear to be

considerably more complex than Pedro Salinas believed when he boldly differentiated between the elitism of courtly love and the universal experience of death:

La ordenación de la vida que toma como su centro el amor *cortés*, nació dentro de una clase social, la nobleza; fue en su origen uno de esos conceptos de minoría que las minorías se transmiten unas a otras, en el curso de los siglos, aunque muchos de sus componentes, a su paso, vayan calando más y más en otras clases de cultura inferior. [...] Pero hay en la Edad Media otra realidad humana que a nadie deja fuera de su órbita, que alcanza por igual al prócer y al hombre de la labranza, y que al cristalizar en formas literarias cobra automáticamente una generalidad, un sentido superior a toda limitación de clase. Es la muerte (1947: 47).

Although it has been argued that this is demonstrated in the *Dances of Death*, which proclaim the 'poder igualitario, arrasador, de la muerte' (Salinas 1947: 51), in the *Danza Death* does not in fact treat all individuals equally since it methodically claims members of society from the summit to the base of both ecclesiastical and lay hierarchies and, in its speech, shows greater respect for those who may have shown moral virtue during their lives. Furthermore, in terms of historical reality, death did not affect all parts of society in the same manner, since all individuals were not at an equal risk of premature death, 'The rich certainly had a lower risk of dying from undernutrition than the majority of citizens [...]. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that mortality from the plague was higher in the lower social classes' (Mackenbach 1995: 1291). Royer de Cardinal, having analysed the age of decease of a number of prominent late-medieval Castilians similarly finds that in 'Castilla, los altos personajes del reino, fueran civiles o eclesiásticos superaban [...] la expectativa de vida menos optimista' ([1992 (?): 47) of the population as a whole. It should be noted, moreover, that even from a theological perspective it was acknowledged that the soul's prospects could be influenced by economic factors. Despite the fact that, 'la Danza de la Muerte divulgaba la vanidad de las distinciones sociales [...] la práctica era muy diferente ya que, como se decía entonces las limosnas cubren multitud de pecados'

¹³ The first known edition of *Cárcel* dates from 1492 (Whinnom 1974: 13-14).

(Núñez Rodríguez 1988: 11). In addition, society classified deaths, evaluated them according to its standards and subsequently assessed the likely implications of each death for the soul or memory of the dead person in the hereafter. There were good and bad ways to die, good and bad ways for the body to be treated or for the bereaved to respond and good or bad consequences in the afterlife for the deceased. In my first chapter I examine the manners in which individuals died, or were expected to die, and the way in which different types of death were assessed by the living. The ways in which both the dying and the bereaved responded to death was affected by the beliefs they held about the aftermath of death and this is the subject of my second chapter, regarding the afterlife. In my third and final chapter I seek to discover further indications of attitudes towards death provided by the manner in which the bereaved dealt with both the physical and emotional consequences of their bereavement. In this way I hope to provide a systematic examination of attitudes towards death as it affected, or was believed to affect, the dying, the deceased and the bereaved. Thus though one corpse may look much like another, particularly when reduced to a fleshless skeleton of the type which invites the living to join it in a dance, in practice all corpses were not treated equally. An individual's personality, beliefs, manner of dying, place of death, social status, wealth and family ties would all affect the fate of his body, soul and posthumous memory. Even death did not succeed in levelling society.

Medieval Castilian society was deeply hierarchical and, at least in theory, was divided into three estates, or *estados*, as Alfonso X, el Sabio's *Siete Partidas* make clear:

Defensores son uno de los tres estados por que Dios quiso que se mantuviese el mundo: ca bien así como los que ruegan a Dios por el pueblo son dichos oradores; et otrosí los que labran la tierra et facen en ella aquellas cosas por que los homes

han de vevir et de mantenerse son dichos labradores; et otrosí los que han a defender a todos son dichos defensores (1972: II, 197; PII, TXXI).¹⁴

According to Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, 'La mención de la teoría política de los tres estados se lee por primera vez en Castilla en este título de las *Partidas*' (1996: 19) and 'Posteriormente, encontramos la doctrina trifuncional como teoría política en casi todos los autores, desde don Juan Manuel, hasta Alonso de Cartagena' (1996: 62-63n).¹⁵ My thesis relates to the *oradores* and *defensores*, all of whom were baptised members of the Catholic Church, and of them, only those who formed part of the ruling elite or were associated with it. In the fifteenth century there were other groups in society, such as merchants, *letrados* and *conversos*, who did not fit neatly into any one of the above estates, but still formed part of Christian society. The members of the Military Orders are also somewhat problematic in this respect since they combined features of both *oradores* and *defensores*. Yet although the theory of the three estates did not accurately describe society, it provided a firm and authoritative justification for those who considered themselves either *oradores* or *defensores* to view themselves as distinct both from the mass of the population and from each other. The anonymous author of the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*, for example, placed the *defensores* above the other estates, describing the 'muy noble e muy honrrado ofiçio de la caballería' as that which 'señorea e conserba todos los otros ofiços' (1940: 198).¹⁶ Similarly, in the *Hechos del condestable don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, it is reported that the Condestable's *Alguacil mayor*, Gonzalo Mexía, addressed the *concejo* of Jaén in 1464, stating that:

¹⁴ Alfonso ruled Castile from 1252-1284 and was responsible for the composition of the *Partidas*, of which, 'Although it is not known with any certainty exactly when work on the *Partidas* was started and when it was completed, it seems probable that the initial date was in June [...] 1256, and that at least the *First Partida* (perhaps even the whole work) was ready nine years thereafter' (van Kleffens 1968: 184).

¹⁵ In the north of France, the earliest recorded references to the theory are attributable to Adalbéron, Bishop of Laon, and Gérard, Bishop of Cambrai, and date from the first half of the eleventh century (Duby 1978: 15 & 18).

¹⁶ The majority of the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* was probably written between 1453 and 1460, though some parts seem to have been completed during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs (*Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* 1940: xl-xlvii).

cosa conosciada era, segúnd que por los sabios antiguos estaua escripto, en todo el mundo ser tres estados: el primero de los oradores, el segundo de los defensores, el terçero de los labradores. E que así como el estado de los oradores era de muy grande esçelencia, por atañer a lo espirital, así el estado de los labradores era muy nesçesario, para sustentamiento del mundo 7 dar mantenimiento a los que en él bien. Pero que sin el estado de los defensores, que era la orden de la cauallería, no se podrían en ninguna manera los otros dos estados sostener. Porque ella era *vna de las más nobles cosas del mundo* (1940: 203, my italics).¹⁷

The distinction between the estates was not based solely on function and marked by dress, but was also thought to extend to their members' personalities.¹⁸ According to the

Partidas:

Bondades son llamadas las buenas costumbres que los homes han naturalmente en sí, a que llaman en latin *virtutes*; et entre todas son quatro las mayores, así como cordura, et fortaleza, et mesura, et justicia. Et como quier que todo home que haya voluntad de seer bueno debe trabajarse de haberlas, también los oradores que diximos como los otros que han de gobernar las tierras por sus labores et por sus trabajos; con todo aquesto non hi ha ningunos a quien más convenga que a los defensores, porque ellos han a defender la iglesia, et los reyes et a todos los otros: ca la cordura les fará que lo sepan facer a su pro et sin su daño; et la fortaleza que estén firmes en lo que fecieren et que non sean camiadizos, et la mesura que obren de las cosas como deben et non pasen a más; et la justicia que la fagan derechamente (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 200; PII, TXXI, Ley IV).

The term *defensor* is not synonymous with 'noble', though there is a large overlap, since some individuals who were of noble birth chose to become *oradores* and there were soldiers who were not nobles. I have preferred to use the terms *oradores* and *defensores* because they point to a distinction based on function and lifestyle. When I have used the term *caballero* it should be understood to refer to noble *defensores*.¹⁹ Similarly when references are made to ecclesiastics, clerics or priests, this should be understood in terms of the elite of the *oradores*. As is suggested by the existence of Berceo's *clérigo simple* (1971: 90-92), the fact that Pedro de Cuéllar, Bishop of

¹⁷ The *Hechos del condestable* are 'un relato minucioso de la vida de este personaje, desde el sábado 25 de marzo de 1458, en que recibe con toda solemnidad los títulos de varón, conde y condestable, hasta fines de diciembre de 1471, en que la Crónica termina, justos diecisiete meses antes de la muerte violenta del protagonista' (*Hechos del Condestable* 1940: xvii).

¹⁸ On rules regarding clothing deemed suitable for *oradores*, see Martín & Linage Conde (1987: 155, 241). Juan I (1379-90) passed sumptuary laws, limiting the use of gold and cloth of gold in clothing and decoration to *caballeros* (Díaz de Montalvo 1999: 112r; Libro IV, Título I, Ley I-III).

Segovia, felt moved in 1325 to write a catechism 'porque veemos grand simplicidad en la mayor parte de los clérigos de nuestro obispado' (Martín & Linage Conde 1987: 169), and that subsequent Church Councils, as we shall see, were required to remind such priests of discrepancies between their practices and the doctrines of the Church, there were clearly ignorant *oradores* whose frame of mind may have been closer to that of lay people than the upper levels of the Church hierarchy would have wished.

That there were different attitudes towards death within fifteenth-century society has been noted by a number of critics. The fact that the vast, illiterate majority of the medieval European population, the *labradores*, continued to hold beliefs and carry out practices contrary to the teaching of the Church is reflected in the title of the first part of Vovelle's *La Mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos jours*, 'Mourir en 1300: deux modèles de la mort au coeur du Moyen Âge' (1983: 27) in which he describes a number of un-Christian practices and superstitions (1983: 37-56). For, although the 'grado de cristianización del occidente europeo durante la alta Edad Media era ya muy elevado, [...] bajo esta capa uniformadora convivían toda una serie de tradiciones locales, profundamente arraigadas, que la Iglesia no había logrado eliminar' (Herrero 1996: 37). Ana Arranz Guzmán has also studied this phenomenon, whereby 'el pueblo llano [optó] por emplear todas aquellas prácticas legadas por civilizaciones o culturas anteriores, mezclándolas sin selección alguna con las formas y creencias cristianas' (1986: 111). For his part, Sagnieux also detected both Christian ideas and 'de sentiments et de convictions étrangères à la pensée chrétienne' (1972: 14) and suggested that:

Peut-être le puissant courant qui se fait jour à la fin du Moyen Age est-il l'expression de cette culture populaire, longtemps refoulée par la culture officielle de l'Eglise et qui, pour des raisons complexes que nous ne connaissons pas encore

¹⁹ The term *caballero* can be used to denote a specific sector of the nobility. Marie-Claude Gerbet, for example, divides the nobility into three classes, in descending order of status 'Grandes et Titulos, Caballeros, Hidalgos' (1979: 3). I have not used the term in this narrow sense.

bien, fait peu à peu son entrée dans la grande littérature au début de la Renaissance (1972: 14).

The fact that the mass of the population, the *labradores*, had particular beliefs with regard to death which differed from those of the *oradores* should perhaps lead us to ask whether the *defensores* too had practices and attitudes distinct from, or in conflict with, those of the *oradores*. Given the *oradores*' and *defensores*' clearly defined, and very different, roles in maintaining society, it seems probable that each of these groups should have evolved different practices, modes of behaviour and ways of thinking about particular issues. According to Julio Valdeón the Church had to make considerable efforts to modify the structures, practices and beliefs of a feudal society which was rooted in a very different set of values:

Se ha dicho, aunque la expresión puede resultar exagerada, que la Iglesia cristianizó a la sociedad feudal. Eso quiere decir que, adaptándose a las estructuras vigentes, supo sacar el máximo partido posible, en aras de sus propias finalidades religiosas. El espíritu caballeresco, expresión de la sociedad feudal, bebía en la tradición guerrera de los pueblos germánicos, al fin y al cabo una tradición pagana. Pero la Iglesia supo encauzar el ardor y la belicosidad de los combatientes medievales por la senda del servicio a los ideales cristianos (1999: 103-104).

The triumph of the *oradores* was not total however and it seems that they had more difficulty in enforcing their values in some aspects of life than in others. One of these was marriage, and the conflict between the imperatives of *defensores* and *oradores* in this area has been analysed by Georges Duby (1981), who demonstrated that conflict arose because the two estates had divergent priorities and perspectives. This is not to say that the ideologies of *oradores* and *defensores* could not, and indeed, were not, reconciled to a certain degree, but the tension between the two persisted, 'the earthly pursuits of love and war brought forth value-systems which, though they adhered to the religio-philosophical code whenever possible, nonetheless contradicted that code when necessary' (Green 1963: 7-8).

That carnal love and war should be areas of particular tension perhaps reflects the fact that they raised issues of crucial importance to each estate. Sexual relationships were, at least in theory, incompatible with a religious vocation: acceptance of the hardships inherent in military campaigning and the possibility of death in battle was as central to the vows of the *caballero* as chastity was to those of the *orador*. The comparison between their vows is one which was made by Alfonso de Cartagena, (1384-1456), Bishop of Burgos:

la orden de la cavallería [...] tiene sus reglas e observança, ca non poco erraría quien cuydase que la cavallería da libertad para usar de deleytes e de desordenados plazerres e [...] quien bien catare la regla que tiene, [...] por ventura la fallará tan estrecha commo la de los ençerrados cartuxos o de los menores descalços, que de la observança llamamos. Ca aunque en algunas cosas aquéllos parescan tener mayor estrechura, pero non les manda su orden poner tantas vezes syn algund reguardo su vida en balança nin sofrir algunos syngulares trabajos que el continuo exerçicio de la esforçada miliçia demanda.
¿E quál mayor trabajo e angustia puede aver que ver la muerte çercana, e poderla evitar si quisiere, e esperarla de rostro por non partir desonesto para dilatar con vergiença su vida? (Santillana 1988: 426).²⁰

He places emphasis on the requirement for the *caballero* to be willing to risk his life and indeed the *defensores* were confronted, by the very nature of their function in society, with the possibility of violent death. They were perhaps no less aware of death than the cloistered monk depicted in the *Danza de la Muerte* who after a life of prayer hopes to be taken to his creator, but they had developed different responses to it. As the bishop's words suggest, the harshness of their vows with regard to their obligation to face death was perhaps compensated for by less rigour in other areas: the 'mayor estrechura' in the vows of the religious, of whom such physical and psychological courage was not required, is perhaps a reference to the vow of chastity.

As has already been noted by Salinas and others, the nobility had their own, distinct, attitude towards love and I would argue that the *defensores'* approach to death

and dying had a similarly distinctive nature. A knight does not necessarily die in the same fashion as a priest or a peasant, his death may provoke different responses among those who surround him and he may be commemorated in a fashion particular to one of his estate. Even though the *defensores* adopted Christian practices, these could take on a distinctly secular tinge, 'La nobleza [...] reforzaba con sus enterramientos y sufragios las actitudes promovidas por la Iglesia, pero a veces su afán de ostentación daba a su práctica un cariz demasiado profano' (Martínez Gil 1996: 131-132). The differences between the nobility and the mass of the population were indeed reinforced in certain aspects of their funerals, 'Les obsèques nobiliaires sont un rite social destiné à manifester le rang du défunt, sa qualité particulière. La mort noble se doit d'être différente de celle du vulgaire' (Beaune 1977: 125). As Vovelle has observed, towards the end of the Middle Ages:

en même temps que l'Église obtient, dans la christianisation de l'au-delà, des succès décisifs, au niveau des groupes dominants l'affirmation de tout un ensemble d'attitudes exprimées dans les gestes se fait jour, qui s'enracinent très fortement dans un système de valeurs terrestres (1983: 149).²¹

Whereas the Church, at least in theory, measured each individual against the standards of Christian morality, the *defensores* assessed a death against criteria of honour, which included factors such as the lineage, social status and valour of the deceased. In death, as in life:

It may be said [...] that in the middle ages two systems of ideas concerning 'honour' existed, or coexisted; one, generally accepted, deriving from religious, philosophical and legal principles, the other deriving from factual situations, within the same social structure (Caro Baroja 1966: 96).

²⁰ Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458), had asked him about the nature of the vows made by *caballeros* and the Bishop replied in a letter dated 17 March 1444.

²¹ Among these 'gestes' Vovelle includes certain aspects of funeral processions (1983: 151-154) and tomb sculpture (1983: 163-167), as well as the substitution of heraldic and chivalric objects for the usual funeral offerings of bread, wine or candles (1983: 157-158). This analysis therefore deals primarily with the actions of the bereaved, as does that of Colette Beaune (1977), whose 'Mourir noblement à la fin du Moyen Âge' does not, despite the indication of its title, discuss the process of dying among the nobility.

It would certainly appear that in their approaches to the areas of love and death there were acute differences between *oradores* and *defensores*. Yet though these have been analysed in detail with regard to love and marriage, to my knowledge a similar analysis has not been carried out in relation to their attitudes to death and dying. Though it has been suggested that the *labradores* had a somewhat haphazard approach to their beliefs, randomly retaining certain pagan traditions and mixing them with Christianity, I do not believe that the *defensores*' non-Christian beliefs were similarly lacking in coherence. As I hope to show, their non-Christian practices and attitudes relating to death fitted into a wider framework of beliefs which governed their approach to life. Inasmuch as *defensor* and *orador* attitudes to death seem to form part of two coherent and distinct structures of beliefs, I will refer to a '*defensor* ideology' and an '*orador* ideology', the term 'ideology' being understood as, 'a system of ideas or way of thinking pertaining to a class [...], especially as a basis of some economic or political theory or system, regarded as justifying actions and especially to be maintained irrespective of events' (*Oxford* 1993: 1305). In this thesis I will examine the ideologies of these two estates in parallel, in order to be better able to discover both their differences and the areas in which they were in agreement.

Attitudes find their expression in literature, law and history and it is this written record which I propose to examine in relation to fifteenth-century Castile. Though the majority of my primary texts date from this period, I will, in fact, use material from both earlier and later centuries. No period exists in isolation from those which precede it and comparisons with texts from other periods will enable me to demonstrate the extent to which the ideas, attitudes, and related practices prevalent among fifteenth-century *defensores* and *oradores* would, or would not, have been alien to their counterparts in the preceding or succeeding centuries. Establishing such comparisons is important in

the light of the views, discussed above, which describe the fifteenth century as one particularly interested in death, and because of the fact that this century has long been perceived as one of transition from traditional, medieval ideas to new, Renaissance ones. Though my focus on the fifteenth century means I have been unable to examine texts from other periods in sufficient quantities to establish the precise extent to which they show continuity with it, I nonetheless wish to suggest that though there may have been changes in emphasis or in the manners in which they were expressed, the ideologies present in the fifteenth century had their roots in an earlier period and continued to have relevance after 1500. Unless stated otherwise, a pre-fifteenth-century text is not assumed to have had a direct impact on fifteenth-century authors: rather, it serves merely to provide evidence that a particular idea was in circulation during the period in which the text was composed. Such texts may suggest that continuity existed between the period in which they were written and the fifteenth century, but I have not in any way assumed that they prove it. It should also be noted that texts written in the fifteenth century often draw on material dating from earlier periods, again reinforcing the point that fifteenth-century culture cannot be studied without at least some reference to earlier centuries. Examples of such texts include Alfonso de la Torre's *Visión deleitable* which, though written in the 'late 1430s', has 'No source [...] later than the twelfth century' (Deyermond 1971: 145). Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* was printed in 1508, but is based on a much older version of the Amadís story, perhaps first dating from 1285 (Avalle-Arce 1990: 9).

With regard to the authors of the primary sources, while these are not restricted exclusively to *defensores* and *oradores*, they do not, as far as is known, include *labradores*, though clearly the precise social status of authors of anonymous works remains a mystery. Being largely illiterate, the *labradores* did not tend to express

themselves in written form and documentary evidence concerning their lives, such as last testaments and wills, was therefore mediated through such figures as the parish priest or the local notary.²² The *conversos* present a rather different problem from the *labradores*: many of them were highly literate and occupied prominent positions, yet they were in certain senses at the margins of society. Many critics have detected concerns specific to the *conversos* in the works of members of this group. To mention but two, Stephen Gilman wrote of *Celestina* that:

without some insight into the way it felt to be a *converso* in the 1490's [...] the most important qualities of the work – its mordant irony, its implicit attack on God, its almost epic destruction of meaning and value – cannot be understood (1972: 86).

Regula Rohland de Langbehn after an examination of five sentimental romances related their exposition of the 'conceptos de sinceridad y de igualdad' (1989: 140) to the authors' status as *conversos*. We must be careful, however, before seeking to find in the work of every *converso*, or supposed *converso*, a theme or subtext related to their place in society. Clearly not all *conversos* lacked conviction in their Christianity: many of them, including Pablo de Santa María (1350-1435), Chief Rabbi of Burgos and later its Bishop, adopted Christianity wholeheartedly and even became *oradores*. A striking example of the assimilation of the ideology of the *defensores* by a *converso* is Diego de Valera, 'the son of a *converso* royal physician' (Round 1989: 145) who became an authority on questions of protocol. Furthermore, *conversos* were often in the employ of a noble or the monarch and, as in the case of Valera – whose works include the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* dedicated to Juan II, the *Tratado en defenssa de virtuossas mugeres* dedicated to Juan II's first wife, María, and the *Breviloquio de virtudes*

²² As Vovelle has observed, written evidence regarding the beliefs and practices of peasants is sparse and often provided by hostile *oradores*, 'Pendant tout le Moyen Âge synodes et conciles locaux, reflétant les inquiétudes des clercs, suggèrent en négatif le système des croyances dénoncées. Telle information demeure limitée et l'historien, entre les discours officiels de l'Église, le discours plus riche mais plus enveloppé des hagiographies et des *exempla* ou des récits de dévotion, ne peut se confier que modestement à l'écrit' (1983: 38). Alternative sources of information about the *labradores* include iconography, archaeology and folklore (1983: 38).

dedicated to Rodrigo Pimentel, Conde de Benavente - their works often reflect the interests of those for whom they wrote and to whom their works were dedicated. The *conversos* discussed by Gregory B. Kaplan (1996) who formed part of the circle of the Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo, himself an Old Christian, presumably did not express their ideas concerning the equality of all Christians without his encouragement. Far from asserting their cultural difference, it might be argued that, 'they wished to merge seamlessly with a majority which sought to maintain cultural differences' (Kaplan 1996: 53). There is, in any case, no reason to suppose that criticism of social inequality was only expressed by *conversos*: as Nicasio Salvador Miguel has observed, if that were the case, 'tendríamos que replantear la autoría de las *Danzas de la muerte* que pululan en las letras medievales de uno a otro lugar del Occidente cristiano' (1989: 172). The problem is further complicated by the fact that a lack of reliable biographical information may prevent us from being absolutely certain which authors were *conversos*. Therefore, unless there is strong evidence to the contrary, I have worked on the assumption that despite the possibility of hidden sub-texts, *conversos* writing for a noble or ecclesiastical audience did not express views differing unacceptably from those of that audience. Any possible distortions arising from the use of such material will, I hope, be tempered by the use of other, complementary, texts.

Even where a text can be clearly identified as having been composed by either a *defensor* or an *orador*, I have not assumed that the author's estate must have completely defined their ideology in all cases and throughout the entirety of a work. *Defensores* quite often expressed orthodox Christian belief, and when I have used such statements, I have included them in the discussion of *orador* ideology. Not surprisingly, given that the *defensores* lived and were educated in a society deeply permeated by Christianity, I have found no text written by a *defensor* which rejects all aspects of Christian doctrine.

Nonetheless, in the corpus of fifteenth-century texts I have used, I have discovered certain ideas which do not seem compatible with Christianity but which are nonetheless compatible with each other. These ideas, expressed in writing, are different from the collection of semi-pagan 'popular' religious practices discussed above, though there may be some overlap with certain of them. It is on the basis of the existence of these ideas and their compatibility that I have posited the existence of a *defensor* ideology. Some of the evidence for this alternative ideology can be found in texts written by *oradores* (or *defensores* adopting a Christian attitude) condemning certain practices or attitudes, while further, positive, evidence was present in other texts, especially those written by *defensores* or which might be expected to have been of particular interest to this group, such as royal chronicles.²³

My sources will, of necessity, be incomplete. The vagaries of history determine which documents survive and even to examine all of those which are available would have been an impossible task. I have therefore been obliged to be selective. I have primarily used texts written by subjects of the Crown of Castile since such texts are more likely to reflect the ideas held in Castilian society than those written by foreigners.²⁴ I have further limited my study by omitting texts in which languages other than Castilian predominate, though I did not judge the occasional use of phrases or passages in Latin or other non-Castilian languages in a text sufficient cause to omit it. Although this has led to the omission of Latin texts, I do not believe that this has unduly impoverished my findings. Firstly, the vernacular was widely used and, from the reign of Alfonso X, had been the language in which many important and influential texts,

²³ According to the *Partidas*, 'ante los caballeros deben leer las hestorias de los grandes fechos de armas quando comieren' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 213; PII, TXXI, Ley XX). Of course, this does not mean that such readings often took place, but merely that this sort of material was considered particularly appropriate for this social group.

²⁴ I have, of course, referred to certain works composed outside the Peninsula which had particular authority, such as the Bible.

including laws, were written (Deyrmond 1971: 88). Secondly, a number of texts were translated into the vernacular, including the *Ars moriendi*, 'sacado de latín en romance, para instrucción e dotrina de las personas carescientes de letras latinas' (Arte 1999: 81). As John Esten Keller has noted, Clemente Sánchez de Vercial in his introduction to the *Libro de los exenplos por a.b.c.* stated that he had 'reunido un libro de *exenplos* por a.b.c. y lo había traducido al romance para el *placer* (usó la palabra *solaz*) de su amigo Johan Alfonso de la Barbolla y para aquellos que no sabían el latín' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 18).²⁵ Thirdly, although the *oradores* were required, in the performance of their duties, to use Latin and preferably, particularly among the elite, to understand and be fluent in it, it was not necessarily the case that *defensores* would have been equally at ease with the language. By using texts written in the vernacular therefore, I have ensured that my sources are ones which could have been understood by any literate *orador* or *defensor*. To remedy the gap this might have created, particularly with regard to the legislation of Church councils and synods, I have used secondary sources. This is particularly the case with regard to the section on the Church's attitudes to displays of grief at funerals, where I have drawn extensively on the work of Filgueira Valverde (1945) and Herrero (1996).

Literature is not a mirror of reality; it often focuses on aspects of life which are extraordinary or of particular interest to the author or intended audience. I have consulted a range of primary texts, of different genres, each with its own purpose and bias, in order to present as varied and yet as representative a picture as I could. Romances of chivalry such as the *Amadís de Gaula*, though they reflect attitudes and practices which did exist, would only be accepted as entirely true by a madman such as Don Quijote. Although 'the disease of love, according to medieval physicians, is a disorder of the mind and body, closely related to melancholia and potentially fatal if not

²⁵ Sánchez de Vercial, who died c. 1434 'was a Canon of León Cathedral' (Deyrmond 1971: 145).

treated' (Wack 1990: xi), it probably did not cause death with the frequency depicted in the sentimental romances. In addition, some of the habits or customs represented in literature, though not invented, may be deliberate archaisms. In this respect historical documents can provide a useful gauge against which to compare literature, in order to ascertain the degree to which the author is representing contemporary life. Another consideration is that the interests and attitudes of the intended audience, as in the case of the sentimental romances and *cancionero* poetry where it was primarily a courtly one, or the stated aim of a work, as in the case of didactic literature, will have shaped the content and the attitudes contained in texts. Nonetheless, by placing poetry alongside law and prose fiction beside theology and history, I have attempted to demonstrate the extent to which literature was indeed informed by contemporary ideas and practice. In so doing, I have not analysed death in literature in terms of its psychological and plot functions.²⁶ Furthermore, I have had to limit discussion of death resulting from courtly love, a phenomenon the nature and influence of which outside the confines of literature has been the subject of seemingly endless debate since the end of the nineteenth century and one which could otherwise have overwhelmed this thesis.²⁷ I have also sought to balance evidence derived from macabre sources with other, perhaps less immediately striking, testimonies of attitudes towards death. Although the macabre is clearly a significant strand in fifteenth-century art and literature concerning death, it is certainly not the only one. In addition its ambiguity, a characteristic to which the debate it has produced regarding whether it is the product of lay or clerical forces bears testimony, has obliged me to use it with caution. I have been similarly cautious in my use of satirical, parodic and other humorous responses to death, dying and the afterlife. While

²⁶ Grieve (1987) offers a detailed study of this sort, which examines the inter-relationship between love and death as they appear in the Spanish sentimental romances.

²⁷ An example of the divergences of opinion on this topic is provided by Keith Whinnom and A. A. Parker. Whinnom (1981: 34-37) argued that in *cancionero* poetry references to death caused by love were often sexual euphemisms. His findings were criticised by A. A. Parker (1985: 17-19; 35-38) but accepted, among others, by Ian Macpherson, '*morir*, [...] like Medieval Latin *morire*, English "die" [...] and related

the very act of parodying or satirising a practice or belief provides evidence for the existence of such beliefs or practices in the satirist's culture, the nature of these genres is ambiguous and, as is the case with the macabre, one must use them with care. Testament parodies such as those analysed by Kenneth R. Scholberg (1990), and other humorous or parodic responses to death and dying may suggest that death and the afterlife were less awe-inspiring than the moralists would have liked, but on the other hand, as Green has observed, 'The greater the esteem in which certain mores are held, the more pleasurable is the relief provided by the act of parodying them' (1963: 37). Such texts may therefore be interpreted as either a jovial rejection of the Church's teaching or an indirect confirmation that those same teachings provoked fear and anxiety, from which individuals occasionally sought relief through humour. Furthermore, although I have used texts from traditions particularly associated with death, such as elegies, laments and consolatory epistles, I have not attempted an analysis of each such genre.

Legal texts, although they might seem to be more reliable indicators of contemporary practices than literary fiction, can also present difficulties. Legislation can at times be a more accurate reflection of the aspirations of the legislator than an enforceable or observed code. This is perhaps particularly true of the *Siete Partidas*, written under the instruction of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1252-1284), and from which I have drawn heavily. It covers an extensive range of topics, including religious doctrine and the conduct of the sovereign, which one might not expect to find in a law-code but Alfonso himself was never able to ensure the *Partidas*' full acceptance as law (van Kleffens 1968: 207-210). Though written considerably before the fifteenth century, it was by no means considered irrelevant by this period, 'it was promulgated in 1348 by

terms in a wide range of European languages, is a standard term for "to come to a sexual climax", with *dar muerte*, *perder la vida* as recognizable variants in appropriate contexts' (1985: 54).

Alfonso XI, its validity was accepted for centuries, and its influence is still discernible today' (Deyermund 1971: 91). Though Alfonso XI in his *Ordenamientos de Alcalá* (1348) gave the various *fueros* priority over the *Partidas*, 'because of the many lacunae of the *fueros*, the rôle the *Partidas* were going to play in spite of their subordinate position was to be very great indeed' (van Kleffens 1968: 217). When the *Leyes de Toro* were promulgated in 1505 the *Partidas* retained their position as the legal text of last recourse (van Kleffens 1968: 232-234). Though my focus is on the fifteenth century, the attitudes towards death expressed in the *Siete Partidas*, including information concerning how one should prepare for death and how to mourn, demonstrate that many of the ideas concerning death prevalent in the fifteenth century had a long tradition. The other major source of law I have used is Díaz de Montalvo's *Ordenanzas reales*, which were given force of law in 1485 and were commissioned by the Catholic Monarchs to include:

in a single volume those law-texts enacted since Alfonso X's death which were not considered to be 'superfluous, useless, revoked, and repealed', and did not belong to the category of 'those which neither were, nor ought to be, in actual use' (van Kleffens 1968: 230-231).

On a very different scale and with a very different purpose from law-codes are wills, which, as noted above, have been used as the basis for a number of studies of attitudes towards death. In common with the other types of text already analysed, they too must be interpreted with care. Wills cannot be read as unambiguous expressions of an individual's beliefs as they approached death. The will was a legal document, shaped both by precedent and the *escribano* who penned it, though this is not to say that it did not also reflect the beliefs and wishes of the testator.²⁸

²⁸ Historians differ as to the extent to which wills were formulaic. As López Benito has observed, 'las cláusulas declaratorias reflejan unas afirmaciones cuya originalidad es bastante discutida. Sin embargo, las cláusulas decisorias son claro indicio de la voluntad del testador' (1991: 247). García Guzmán and Abellán Pérez observe that 'todos los documentos mantienen unos esquemas fijos, en los que el testador apenas expresa sus sentimientos, pero sí su voluntad' (1997: 10). Rucquoi, on the other hand, states that, 'En el siglo xv, la gran variedad que preside a la formulación de [los] preámbulos permite considerarlos como un reflejo aún no estereotipado de la mentalidad del testador. Los escribanos que los redactaron

The *crónicas* present different problems again from literature or law and have to be treated with extreme caution in terms of their historical objectivity. As Robert Brian Tate has observed, 'the professional historian, suspicious of the partisan nature of the contemporary narrative, has tended to seek the greater security of primary sources' (Pulgar 1971: x). Written in specific historical contexts, there seems little doubt that they manipulate their sources and contain political propaganda. Diego de Valera's *Memorial de diversas hazañas*, for example, is consistently negative about Enrique IV and his reign and contrasts markedly with the more favourable *Crónica* written by Diego Enríquez de Castillo, who, according to the title of that chronicle, was Enrique's 'capellán y cronista'. In a study of ideologies however, fiction and propaganda are as valuable as historically verifiable facts since they reveal the mindset of the authors whose texts are being studied. Nonetheless, since ideologies find their expression in actions, my study will include accounts of events which took place or are said to have taken place, but my primary concern has not been to establish the historical accuracy of such accounts. Indeed, the differences between such accounts can be of great utility since the way in which an account of a particular event is presented may tell us much about what was considered praiseworthy or dishonourable behaviour. Furthermore, chroniclers were obliged to make choices about which items to include, and only events which they deemed worthy of remembering will be found within *crónicas*. The *crónicas* tend to say little about the lives of the vast majority of the population, the *labradores*. Just as the sentimental romances and *cancionero* poetry were written for, and reflect the culture of, the nobility, so too do the chronicles and Rodríguez Velasco has gone as far as to state that, 'La historiografía oficial castellana es básicamente la historia de la caballería, y en ella se establecen los modos de conducta de la misma' (1996: 161).

emplean en efecto fórmulas diferentes según las actas. Y si bien no existe una variedad infinita de preámbulos, las diferencias notables entre unos y otros permiten [...] utilizarlos como manifestación tanto

In limiting my study to fifteenth-century Castilian attitudes towards death among the *oradores* and *defensores*, I have not attempted to chart trends in either fifteenth-century attitudes or practices concerning death. This type of analysis has been attempted by authors dealing with very long time-spans in which certain ideas can be detected appearing for the first time or ceasing to be common currency, or by those comparing a single, easily datable type of document, such as wills.²⁹ Where, as in the case of this thesis, the texts analysed are of various types, written within a relatively short period but not all of which are precisely datable, and which are written by authors whose ideologies may in any case have been formed in decades prior to those in which they were composed, it seemed much less likely that trends could reliably be detected and I have therefore not made any such attempt. I have, however, as discussed above, attempted to situate fifteenth-century attitudes towards death in their wider chronological context. The originality of this thesis stems not so much from its methodology, the distinctions it draws between the mentality of *oradores* and *defensores*, or even the realisation that differences can be found in their attitudes towards death, but rather in the use of a wide variety of primary and secondary source material to compare and contrast systematically the expressions of those attitudes as they relate to the various stages of death and dying. In so doing, I hope I have been able to build up a picture of two coherent and often conflicting systems of thought, which, though they co-existed in fifteenth-century Castile and even within individuals, nonetheless remained distinct, one representing the ethos of the *defensores*, the other that of the *oradores*.

de la mentalidad general como de la del autor del testamento' (1988: 58).

²⁹ Vovelle (1983) is an example of the first type, while Rucquoi's study of a sample of fifteenth-century wills from Valladolid (1988) and Chiffolleau's of late-medieval wills from the Avignon region (1983) are examples of the second.

II. TYPES OF DEATH

EL QUE BIVE THEME QUANTAS MANERAS AY DE MUERTES, NON SABE SI MORIRÁ POR FIERRO, POR FUEGO, POR AGUA, POR PONÇOÑA, POR CAÍDA DE CAVALLO, ETC. (Córdoba 1964a: 61).

1. Introduction

Dying was not a value-free process: the manner in which it occurred was likely to be categorised as either 'good' or 'bad', either a 'buena o mala muerte' (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 244).¹ Within these broad categories, however, there were a multiplicity of different forms, each possessing its own characteristics. Thus Centurio could speak of his 'reporitorio en que ay sietecientas y setenta species de muertes' (Rojas 1998: 316). This interest in the precise nature of any given death was due to the fact that the cause of death, where it took place, the social status of the deceased and their attitude in the hour of death all helped determine how a particular death would be classified. The manner of death was of great significance because it determined how the whole of the deceased's life would be evaluated, in retrospect, by the living. It is in the context of death that the *Siete Partidas* state, 'Todas las cosas maguer hayan buen comienzo et buen medio, si non han buena fin, non son complidamente buenas; et esto es porquel acabamiento es cima de todo lo pasado' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 118; PII, TXIII, Ley XIX). This was true from the perspectives of both *oradores* and *defensores*, although the two estates had somewhat differing ideas as to what constituted a good death. As we shall see, how the death was categorised could affect the treatment of the corpse (including burial location), the reactions of the bereaved and the supposed fate of the deceased in the afterlife.

¹ E. Michael Gerli, in his introduction to the *Arcipreste de Talavera, o Corbacho* notes that, 'Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, según su propio testimonio, nació en 1398' (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 15). The work begins, giving the date of its completion as 15 March 1438 (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 61). The

2. The *oradores*: Christianity and the good death

Christianity taught that the individual was made up of a body and a soul, which were parted at death but would be reunited at the resurrection of the dead. In this, human beings were unique, for as Don Pedro Girón observed in his will, dated 28 April 1466, the living world was conceived of as being divided into three categories:

Dios creó tres espíritus vitales, el uno de los quales non se cubre de carne ni muere en la carne, éste es el espíritu angelical; el otro se cubre de la carne e muere en la carne, éste es el espíritu brutal; el otro cúbrese de carne pero no muere con la carne, éste es el espíritu humanal (Viña Brito 1989: 498).

Only human beings had both an immortal and a mortal component. Thus when Calisto stated 'más querría que mi espíritu fuese con los de los brutos animales' (Rojas 1998: 92), he showed himself willing to dispense with his soul and a place in the afterlife. Although the child's body was thought to derive from its parents, its soul was considered to have been infused directly by God: the 'ánima non tiene ser antes del cuerpo; mas en el cuerpo organizado en el vientre de la madre, la infunde Dios criándola, e críala infundiéndole en el cuerpo' (Córdoba 1964c: 145).² This understanding of the origin of the soul is expressed in the will of Diego de Merlo, written in 1482, with the words, 'ofrezco mi ánima a Dios Nuestro señor, *que la crió e redimió*' (Herrera García 1980: 162, my italics).³ The differing origins of body and soul determine why one is perishable and the other immortal:

los hijos no toman del padre ni de la madre, sino el cuerpo. Dios es aquel que cría el ánima quando el cuerpo es dispuesto [...] como el cuerpo sale de las simientes,

author is buried in Toledo Cathedral, probably having died in that city on 2 January 1468 (Gerli 1977: 237).

² Fray Martín de Córdoba's *Tratado de la predestinación* was probably written between 1470 and 1476 (*Prosistas castellanos* 1964: xxxvii).

³ This phrase, or variants of it, seem to have been common in wills of this period. According to Bejarano Rubio, 'La encomendación del alma se suele hacer a Nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, al que se le reconoce su acto creador y redentor' (1990: 37).

es por eso mortal; pero nuestra ánima es enviada al cuerpo por imperial e divino poder, e por eso es inmortal (Córdoba 1964b: 80-81).⁴

The processes which caused death were thought to have been willed by God, for just as He put body and soul together, so He could choose to separate them. In Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados* Turin explains both that the body is mortal and that the separation between body and soul is caused by God's will:

el alma non puede fincar en el cuerpo para sienpre, ca el alma es criatura de Dios, spiritual, et por voluntat de Dios ayuntóse al cuerpo et fázel bevir. Et porque el cuerpo es conpuesto de los elementos et de los umores, conviene que se desfaga. Et otrosí porque es [con]puesto el omne del alma et del cuerpo, conviene que se desfaga quando es voluntad de Dios. Ca el alma Él la puso en el cuerpo, et desque la parte dél finca el cuerpo muerto et desfázese porque es corporal et conpuesto. Et fincará así [fasta] la rresurrección que serán ayuntados el alma et el cuerpo. Et el alma, que es spiritual [et] simple, dura sienpre, que non se puede desfazer (1974: 25).⁵

The belief that God determined the moment of death continued to be expressed in the later Middle Ages. Martínez de Toledo, writing in 1438, observed, 'Él es el que le ha de preservar o matar, o fazer luengamente bevir o brevemente morir' (1979: 271) and Villena stated with regard to one particular death, 'Dios avía puesto a ella hora prefixa e término conosciódo, ca a él non son escondidos los tienpos' (1976: 116).

Philippe Ariès has argued of death in the Middle Ages that it was not only God but also the individual who was about to die who had foreknowledge of the event, 'Its essential characteristic is that it gives advance warning of its arrival' (1981: 6). These warnings could be what we would nowadays call either 'natural' or 'supernatural'. He acknowledges that such a distinction:

is probably an anachronism; in those days the boundary between the natural and the supernatural was indefinite. It is nevertheless remarkable that the signs most

⁴ According to P. Fernando Rubio the dedication of the *Jardín de nobles doncellas*, to the future Catholic Monarch, Isabel, was written between the death of her brother in July 1468 and her marriage to Fernando in October 1469 (*Prosistas castellanos* 1964: xxx).

⁵ Juan Manuel (1282-1348) composed the *Libro de los estados* c. 1330-1332 (Sturcken 1974: 12).

often mentioned to indicate imminent death in the Middle Ages were signs that today we would call natural (1981: 7).

Ariès gives little evidence to support his claim and, indeed, it would be hard to prove conclusively that premonitions of death were the norm as this would require historical statistics which are not available. Nonetheless it seems likely that those who were sick might have been aware of the possibility that their illness was mortal, and those preparing for armed combat must similarly have been aware there was a likelihood they would not survive. With regard to supernatural signs, or omens, they might be interpreted in a variety of ways and in the chronicles warn of the deaths of both bad and good people, as well as of various natural disasters, 'fue vista una terrible señal en profecía, así como algunas veces vemos antes que venga alguna persecución o pestilencia o muerte de Rey, que vemos cometas, o estrellas de ramos, o otras señales' (Bernáldez 1914: 715–716).⁶ Signs such as comets were visible to large numbers of people and other omens of impending death could also be revealed to individuals other than those whose death they were thought to predict. In *Cárcel de Amor* Leriano's mother knows her son is dying, despite the information to the contrary that messengers bring her:

cuando en mi oratorio me hallava rezando por tu salud, desfallecido el corazón, me cobría de un sudor frío en manera que dende a gran pieça tornava en acuerdo; hasta los animales me certificavan tu mal; saliendo un día de mi cámara vínose un can para mí y dio tan grandes aullidos que assí me corté, el cuerpo y la habla, que de aquel lugar no podía moverme; y con estas cosas dava más crédito a mi sospecha que a tus mensajeros, y por satisfacerme acordé de venir a verte, donde hallo cierta la fe que di a los agüeros (San Pedro 1985: 173).⁷

If correctly interpreted and heeded, such omens gave all those affected time to prepare for the impending event, and could give the dying the opportunity to cleanse their souls

⁶ Andrés Bernáldez was priest of the Villa de los Palacios from 1488 to 1513 (Bernáldez 1914: 567). He possibly died in this year (Nader 1979: 23).

⁷ In San Pedro's earlier *Arnalte y Lucenda*, the first known edition of which dates from 1491 (Whinnom 1974: 13), Arnalte sees portents, including another howling dog. They herald not a death but bad news concerning Lucenda's marriage to another (San Pedro 1973: 140–141).

and die well, as in the case of Charlemagne, 'El Emperador por aquellas señales conoció su fin y ordenó muy bien su ánima y ovo muy buen fin' (Bernáldez 1914: 723).

It should perhaps be noted, however, that an event interpreted by one person as an omen of death, might not necessarily be understood in the same way by others. In Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* Providence informs the poet of the circumstances surrounding the death of the 'muy virtuoso, perínclito conde / de Niebla' (1997: 189).⁸ Prior to his embarkation on campaign, strange events were reported which 'los marineros /han por auspicios e malos agüeros' (1997: 190), including:

[...] nuevos yerros
la noche passada fazer las planetas,
con crines tendidas arder las cometas,
dar nueva lumbr e las armas e fierros,
gridar sin ferida los canes e perros,
triste presagio fazer de peleas
las aves noturnas e las funereas
por los collados, alturas e çerros (1997: 190-191).

The conde de Niebla, 'que nunca de las abusiones / creyera, nin menos de tales señales' (1997: 194) chose to ignore the warnings, but they nonetheless proved true. On other occasions the omen might be ambiguous and thus only fully recognised after the event. The death of the Maestre de Calatrava in 1466, following his plan to force the Infanta Isabel to marry him was, according to Mosén Diego de Valera, brought about 'de la mano de Dios' (1914: 39).⁹ According to Valera's account the Maestre's death was preceded by a large number of storks flying towards the castle in which he was staying, resting on it so that, 'el castillo escureció, poco menos que si fuera de noche; de lo qual el maestre fue mucho turbado' (1914: 40), presumably because he saw this as an ill omen, and the birds then departed by the same route the Maestre intended to take. Other observers, when asked by the Maestre what they made of the incident 'respondieron que

⁸ Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* 'was completed and presented to Juan II in 1444' (Deyermond 1971: 186).

no sabían qué decir, salvo que nunca vieron semejante cosa' (1914: 40). This response may have been due to the fact that storks were not perceived as birds of ill omen.¹⁰ Diego Enríquez del Castillo, who also chronicled the death of the Maestre, does not mention the storks, saying only that, 'no queriendo Dios lo concertado, e no dando lugar a tan grand falsedad, súpitamente le tomó en el camino el mal de la muerte' (1914: 154).¹¹ This omission may be due to a differing interpretation of the omen but there is a possibility that Valera invented it or used different sources from Enríquez del Castillo. A clearer example of the manner in which events might be regarded as omens by one chronicler, but not by another, is provided by the circumstances surrounding the death of Queen Isabel in 1504. This was preceded by earthquakes which took place earlier in the year and Bernáldez believed these were omens, 'ansí pareció que Nuestro Señor quiso mostrar señales antes de la muerte de esta tan excelente y noble y necesaria reyna' (1914: 723). Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, however, though he reports both the earthquakes and the death of the Queen (1914: 554) makes no connection between them.¹²

While Ariès may be correct in observing that death in the Middle Ages 'gives advance warning of its arrival', we must be careful before assuming that this was true in all, or even most, cases. As Ariel Guance notes, 'El problema [...] es que, si bien el modelo (como tal) es perfectamente válido, Ariès no reconoció que se trataba precisamente de eso – un paradigma ideológico' (1998: 86). That it was an ideal is

⁹ For a biography of Valera (1412-1488), see Rodríguez Velasco 1996: 195-248.

¹⁰ Storks were noted for their attention to filial duty, 'las cigüeñas [...] mantienen a sus padres cuando enuegecen otro tanto tiempo como ellos mantouieron a los fijos cuando eran pollos' (Pulgar 1929: 120-121), while 'another tradition [...] in the Middle Ages reversed the common values and associated the stork with the sin of Sloth' (Rowland 1978: 163). They must have been a fairly common sight for, according to one bestiary, storks 'vienen entre nos al comienço del verano & fazen sus nidos & sus fijos [...] Et quando el verano comienza de baxar & comienza el invierno a venir, ayúntanse muy grandes compañías & pasan la mar & van a Asia' (*Medieval Castilian Bestiary* 1982: 28). I have found no mention of storks being a cause for alarm for anyone other than the Maestre de Calatrava.

¹¹ Enríquez del Castillo was both *capellán* and *cronista* of Enrique IV, as the title of his chronicle of this monarch proclaims.

suggested by one *exemplum* which states, 'El que bien bive e sanctamente, / ante de tiempo veye la muerte' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 289) and Guiance, in his analysis of the accounts of the deaths of a number of saints, has found that, 'los santos siempre presienten o presagian su propia muerte' (Guiance 1998: 84). The implication, both of the *exemplum* and of Guiance's findings, is that though advance warning of death was thought to be guaranteed for the particularly virtuous, the less holy could not necessarily expect to receive it. Given that medieval people believed death occurred 'quando es voluntad de Dios' (Manuel 1974: 25), it no doubt seemed appropriate to them that as a mark of His favour God should inform those who had striven to live well throughout their lives that it was now His will that they should join Him in Heaven. Premonitions or omens of death were not, however, limited exclusively to saints: we have already examined omens which foretold the deaths of a number of less than completely saintly lay people. Nonetheless, for those in less favour with the Almighty such foreknowledge could not be guaranteed. The *Ars moriendi* highlighted the need to prepare oneself by giving forethought to the inevitability of death and advised that:

muchas vezes e con diligencia aya ante los ojos la *Arte de bien morir* [...] e assí mesmo piense en su corazón muchas vezes en la enfermedad postremera de que ha de morir, porque assí, como dize Sant Gregorio: 'Mucho se ocupa en buena obra el que siempre piensa en su fin' (*Arte* 1999: 82).

That the reader was being advised to ponder on his own death in advance of its arrival suggests that the authors of the *Ars moriendi* did not want him to rely on premonitions or omens of imminent death.

Death did snatch people unexpectedly, as portrayed most vividly in the *Danza de la Muerte*, and the message of this same work is that the best preparation is to live one's whole life well, no doubt carrying out those *buenas obras* that the thought of death inspired, and making frequent amends for any sins, 'Faced penitencia, / que a

¹² Galíndez de Carvajal (1472-1532) was a member of Carlos V's *consejo real* (Nader 1979: 129).

morir habedes, *non sabedes cuando*' (1981: 21, my italics). Death later informs the Labrador that if his 'trabajo fue siempre sin arte' and he never stole, then 'en la gloria eternal habredes gran parte' (1981: 68) and similarly the Monje hears that:

Si la regla santa del monje bendito
guardastes del todo, sin otro deseo,
sin duda tened que soes escrito
en libro de vida, segunt que yo creo (1981:70).

Dying well was thus a complex process which could begin while the individual was still healthy and in no obvious danger of dying. The moment of death was of particular importance, however, because it offered the dying person a last opportunity to determine the fate of his soul. At any time throughout life the individual could choose between good and evil but at the moment of death this choice would be made irrevocable and his eternal destiny would be fixed:

Dios, mientras el hombre bive en esta vida, nunca cesa de darle ínpetus que se torne a Él e darle golpes que le abra, e los que siguen tales ínpetus son bienaventurados. E dixe mientras el hombre bive en esta vida, ca, desque es muerto, cesan tales ínpetus, por quanto, o es salvo o dañado; si es salvo, es confirmado e non puede aver mala voluntad; si es dañado, es obstinado e non puede querer bien. [...] Desque es muerto, ya acabó su camino e cesan tales ínpulsos. Esto vale a entender por qué el demonio está endurecido en el mal e non puede fazer penitencia, nin los dañados en el infierno (Córdoba 1964a: 31).¹³

Thus at death, when the soul is freed from the body, the individual becomes pure spirit. Fray Martín de Córdoba, quoted above, could draw a parallel between the Devil and the damned because both had made a choice to turn away from God, a choice immutable because of their condition as pure spirits. As Jeffrey Burton Russell explains of the devils, 'they are purely spiritual beings and do not possess the mobility of nature proper to humans. A spiritual creature is completely bonded to its choice: this is why human souls after death are also unable to repent' (1984: 176).¹⁴ A bad death might damn the

¹³ The *Compendio de la fortuna* was written between 1440 and 1453 (*Prosistas castellanos* 1964: xxiv).

¹⁴ Lucifer, though a pure spirit, was not denied free will: according to the scholastics 'a small delay – *moracula* – must have intervened between his creation and his fall, during which he must have recognized his own limited nature as opposed to God's and freely chosen to disobey his master' (Russell 1984: 175,

soul for ever, a good one could cleanse it even of mortal sin, 'algunas vezes la muerte es tan provechosa que satisfaze por los pecados mortales' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 164). Those spiritual beings most closely interested in the fate of the soul, hordes of devils and angelic hosts, therefore clustered round the bedside, each hoping to claim the soul, a situation vividly portrayed in the illustrations of the *Ars moriendi*. As described by Fray Lope Fernández de Minaya, one of the main terrors facing the dying was 'la fealdad, sin ninguna comparación, de los diablos que entonce le tienen cercado para le fazer desesperar o para le calumniosamente acusar o para le levar a algund lugar do lo han de atormentar' (1964a: 227).¹⁵ This points to the belief that spiritual beings could become visible to humans under certain circumstances. As the dying lay on their deathbeds their liminal position between life and death might permit them a glimpse of the spiritual creatures which surrounded them. This was the case for both good and bad individuals. A 'rrico malaventurado que hera enfermo [...] a la ora que ovo de salir el ánima del cuerpo vio los diablos estar açerca dél e apresurarse por lo levar al infierno' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 275). His son and his companions, unable to see them, can only deduce their presence from the attitude of the dying man, 'maguera non veýan los espíritus malinos, por el temor e pavor del enfermo, entendían que estava allí' (1961: 275). The good, on the other hand, might see saints or angels whose presence, though invisible to bystanders, would ease the death:

muchas vegadas contesçe a los justos que veyen a los sanctos ante de su muerte, nin temen en aquella ora la sentençia de la muerte; mas veyéndolo la compañía de los sanctos de paraýso, sin dolor e sin temor e sin trabajo salen desta vida (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 307).

see Aquinas 2000: Ia, 63.6). Even Lucifer after his fall, and the souls after their deaths are not denied free will, for, as Russell adds, 'The scholastics believed that one could have free will yet not be able to choose between good and evil. God, for example, has free will but cannot choose evil; the damned have free will but cannot choose good' (1984: 176n).

¹⁵ Not much is known concerning Fray Lope, of whom, 'La única fecha conocida de su existencia es la de 1438, en que el superior general de la Orden lo hace objeto de una distinción honorífica' (*Prosistas castellanos* 1964: xlv).

The *Moriens* of the *Ars moriendi*, neither entirely saintly nor completely sinful, is depicted as surrounded by both devils and angels, all of which seek to influence him and of whom he is aware; open to the temptations of the devils he is ultimately saved by heeding the counsel of the angels.

The good death involved acceptance of the fact of death, 'Ca según dize vn sabio: "bien morir es voluntariamente morir" ' (*Arte 'O'* 1990: 212). Because of the theory that the soul was both infused into and removed from the body by God's will, the soul, and thus life itself, could almost literally be thought of as borrowed goods, a debt which must be repaid to God with one's death. Celestina swears on 'la muerte que a Dios devo' (Rojas 1998: 208) and the concept of life as a debt to God is also explicit in Villena's explanation that Juan Fernández could not have expected his relatives to live forever since it 'convenía en algunt tienpo solviesen el común de natura debdo' (1976: 32). Fray Martín de Córdoba imagined a reader of his *Compendio de la fortuna* observing, 'deuda es la muerte, tanto me da pagar agora como después' (1964a: 61). This accepting attitude is similar to that expressed by the three characters in the *Danza de la Muerte* who appear to have lived well. They, unlike their companions in the dance, do not utter violent protests against death or attempt to escape it. The Labrador merely expresses some doubt as to whether dancing is suitable for one of his social status, '¿Cómo conviene danzar al villano / que nunca la mano sacó de la reja?' (1981: 68) and the Ermitaño commends himself to God, saying 'pues yo te serví, la tu gloria atiendo' (1981: 79). The Monje is actually joyful at the prospect of death:

Loor e alabanza sea para siempre
al alto Señor, que con piedad me lieva
a su santo reino, adonde contemple
por siempre jamás la su majestad;
de cárcel oscura vengo a claridad,
donde habré alegría sin otra tristura;
por poco trabajo habré gran folgura.

Muerte, non me espanto de tu fealdad (1981: 70).

The *Arte de bien morir* advised the dying person to show similar joy, 'que sea alegre porque muere en la fe de Nuestro Señor Ihesu Cristo e en la obediencia e unidad de su Santa Iglesia' (1999: 83). Those less sure that they had lived well might find it somewhat more difficult than the Monje to express such joyful confidence, but acceptance and an expression of accordance with God's will were appropriate for the majority of the dying:

todo fiel christiano [...] en qualquier manera o por qualqujer causa que venga la muerte corporal, non debe aver enojo njn se deue turbar njn aver mjedo alguno, mas de grado, voluntariosamente e con todo el juyzio de la razón [...] rresçiba la muerte, e con mucha pasçiençia, conformando su voluntad de todo en todo con la voluntad de Dios. E así bien e seguramente podrá morir (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 151).

Unfortunately for the dying, this patience and endurance were not necessarily easily achieved. According to the *Ars moriendi*, death was a time of particular trial, when the temptations facing the soul were intensified. Furthermore, although some died with relatively little physical pain, for others it was a slow and agonising process, as in the case of Enrique IV:

dióle un tan grand dolor de costado, y tan agudo que ningún reposo ni sosiego le dexaba tener; en tanto grado, que siempre le fue creciendo, e nunca menguando, e duróle aquel dolor por espacio de diez horas (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 221).

In some cases the end might only be reached after a period of delirium, as is recounted in an alternative version of the same monarch's death, 'Cosa respondió, mas comenzó a revolverse en la cama, torciendo la boca e los ojos, e moviendo los brazos a una parte y a otra' (Valera 1914: 94). The *Arte de bien morir* warned that the physical pain of the deathbed could be so great as to give rise to the temptation of impatience:

a los que han de morir muy grand dolor corporal acaesce, mayormente a aquellos que mueren non por muerte natural, la qual viene muy pocas vezes, assí como lo enseña la experiencia; mas antes viene, por la mayor parte, por accidentes, assí como de fiebre, apostema o otra grave enfermedad aflitiva e atormentante. La qual enfermedad a muchos, e mayormente a los que non son bien dispuestos en la

ánima, en tanto grado tornan impacientes e sañosos e murmurantes, que a las vezes del grand dolor e impaciencia parece que sean tornados locos e sin sentido (1999: 99-100).

The troubles facing *Moriens*, the generic dying man of the *Ars moriendi*, were spiritual as well as physical and he faced numerous assaults by the Devil, 'E es de saber, que en el artículo de la muerte los que han de morir han mayores e más graves tentaciones del enemigo que jamás ante uvieron' (*Arte* 1999: 84). It is to these temptations that Constanza de Castilla alluded when she addressed Christ in her *Libro de devociones y oficios*, 'te suplico me des virtud de esfuerço en la ora temerosa de mi fin quando mi espíritu será puesto en estrecha batalla propter varias tentaciones diaboli' (1998: 9).¹⁶ Yet *Moriens* was not alone as he struggled to resist the temptations of the Devil. His guardian angel was present and would inspire him to resist them, and it is to this angel that *Moriens* is instructed to plead, 'O tu mj ángel bueno, mj speçial guardador, deputado a mj por nuestro Señor Dios, seyme presente e ayúdame en tienpo de tanta neçesidad' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 172). This angel, which accompanied the individual throughout life and constantly encouraged him to reject temptation and turn instead towards God, also granted the soul one last act of assistance after death by becoming the 'procurador del ánima' (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 139), defending it at the time of judgement. This dual role of the guardian angel and its importance at the crucial moment of death are alluded to in the sonnet Santillana addressed to his 'Ángel Guardador' where the Marqués asked it to help him to live and die well and at last receive a place in Heaven, 'onesta vida e muerte me procura, / e al fin con los justos santidad' (1988: 78).

It was not enough, however, simply to have the correct attitude towards God and death in order to die well. Various concrete manifestations of preparedness were also

¹⁶ Constanza 'was the prioress of the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid from approximately 1416 to 1465, relinquishing the position only a few years before her death in 1478' (Castilla 1998: vii).

deemed necessary. A person on the verge of death was expected to turn their thoughts away from worldly things, 'deue olujdar las cosas terrenales' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 164), and make visible signs that they were now directed towards the afterlife, as did the Doña Isabel mentioned by Leriano, who, on learning 'que no podía bivar si no casase' (San Pedro 1985: 170), refused to remarry and 'assí se dio al ayuno y disciplina, que quando murió fueron vistos misterios de su salvación' (1985: 170), signs which confirmed hers as a good death. According to the Church, and as expressed in the *Ars moriendi*, the good death involved completing various processes prior to death, including writing a will, showing contrition for one's sins, confessing, and receiving communion and extreme unction:

es de jnduzir y amonestar a qualquier enfermo o a otro qualquier puesto en qualquier peligro que ante de todas las cosas procure y faga plazer con Dios, [...] rresçibiendo deuotamente los sacramentos, ordenando su testamento, disponjendo su casa y los otros negoçios sy algunos tiene (*Arte 'E'* 1990: 194).

Given the will's function as visible proof of a Christian attitude to death, dying intestate could have serious consequences. The Synod of Zaragoza in 1357 forbade:

the burial of anyone who died without a will, *ab intestato*. The only way such a person could obtain a proper Christian burial in consecrated ground was for his natural heirs to contribute part of the inheritance to the church for the establishment of pious bequests on his behalf (Eire 1995: 20-21).¹⁷

One of the signs of death-bed recalcitrance shown by Enrique IV in Valera's account was his refusal to make a will, 'como quiera que conosciere ser cercano al su fin, ninguna mención hizo de confesar ni rescibir los cathólicos sacramentos, ni tampoco hacer testamento o codicilio, que es general costumbre de todos los hombres en tal tiempo hacer' (Valera 1914: 94). He persisted in his refusal to complete these final acts, despite the admonishment of Fray Juan de Mazuelo to at least settle the succession to the throne (1914: 94). Despite this, Enrique was buried: his corpse 'Fue levado [...] a

Santa María del Paso sin pompa alguna de las que se acostumbraban facer en el fallecimiento de los grandes Príncipes' (1914: 94). The implication, however, is that the usual type of funeral would have been unsuitable for one who had died in so un-Christian a fashion.¹⁷ Further sanctions existed to punish those who, without good reason, failed to take the sacraments before they died. According to a law enacted by Enrique III in 1400, half the possessions of those who died without confessing and taking communion, and for whom no extenuating circumstances could be found, were forfeit to the crown (Maravall 1964: 160). The text of this law as it appears in Alfonso Díaz de Montalvo's *Ordenanzas reales* makes it clear that this was because a failure to complete these actions would be assumed to imply a lack of Christian faith, 'Por que paresçe morir sin fe' (1999: 8v; Libro I, Título I, Ley VIII).

In Berceo's tenth *Milagro de Nuestra Señora* and in the account of a pope's death in the early sixteenth century we find two examples of the procedures of the good death being followed correctly. In the miracle the previously avaricious Estevan dies in sin and is in great danger of having his soul dragged off to everlasting torment in Hell. Thanks to the intervention of the Virgin Mary and several saints he is returned to earth and given a second chance at dying well. This time he rights all the wrongs he has done in his life (an essential part of the making of a last will and testament, as we will see), receives the last rites and takes to his bed, praying right up to the last moment:

Entregó ricamientre a los deseredados,
a los qe tuerto tovo fízolos bien pagados,
confessóse al preste de todos sos peccados,
de quantos avié fechos e dichos e asmados. [...]

En el día trenteno fizo su confessión,

¹⁷ See James W. Brodman for details of the legislation in the *fueros* regarding those who died intestate (1994: 18-20). With variations, they all decreed that at least part of the property of the deceased was to be given to the Church.

¹⁸ It should be noted that Valera's account is strongly biased against Enrique. Enríquez del Castillo's description of the death includes the King confessing and naming his executors (1914: 221).

recibió Corpus Dómini con grand devoción;
 echóse en su lecho, fizo su oración,
 rendió a Dios la alma, finó con bendición (1971: 99).

The death of Pope Julius II which took place in 1513 shows the sequence in which the sacraments would have been received. The description of his death includes the 'exhortaciones' (Bernáldez 1914: 764) he addressed to the Cardinals, which effectively contain a confession since he admitted his sins and expressed contrition:

Primeramente dijo: que cierto había sido muy gran pecador en las voluntades mundanas y en los pecados de la carne, y que ansí como él era verdaderamente malcontento y arrepentido, que pedía misericordia a Dios Nuestro Señor, que por ello no condenase su ánimo ni su memoria (Bernáldez 1914: 764).¹⁹

Some of the points could also be interpreted as being equivalent to the making of an oral will, for example, 'Lo quinto, dijo: que dejaba a la Iglesia Romana dotes muy nobles y muy grandes ciudades' (Bernáldez 1914: 765). The account then moves on to describe the administration of the sacraments, 'pidió el sacro sacramento de la eucaristía' (1914: 765), 'comulgó muy devotamente' (1914: 765) and 'se hizo dar la extrema-unción, y él mismo respondió a todo' (1914: 765). The chronicler adds, 'Ansí el Papa Julio ovo santo fin' (1914: 765), and that he intended this death to be a model for others to copy, 'porque me pareció fallecimiento tan santo no ser razón esquivarlo desta mi escriptura, lo asenté para memoria y ejemplo de los que desean buen fin' (1914: 765). Though written at a distance of a couple of hundred years and not identical in every particular, the accounts of the final moments of both Estevan and Julius demonstrate that the essential components of the good death as prescribed by the *oradores* had not changed: the dying had to show faith, right any wrongs they had committed and receive the sacraments.

¹⁹ The third point he makes is true exhortation. It is prefaced by the words 'Lo tercero, dijo y exortó' (Bernáldez 1914: 765), which makes it more likely that what follows is an exhortation and, indeed, it concerns the method the cardinals should use to choose the new Pope and contains no element of confession.

Wills could be spoken or written (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 360; PVI, TI, Ley I), and there were special concessions made for knights who wished to write their will while 'en hueste' (1972: III, 362; PVI, TI, Ley IV) and 'aldeanos' (1972: III, 362; PVI, TI, Ley VI). In these latter cases, the usual procedures regarding numbers of witnesses, signatures and even the material on which the will could be written, were relaxed. The limited time and equipment available to a knight dying in battle meant that he was permitted to write his will 'aún con la su sangre mesma, escrebiéndolo en su escudo o en alguna de sus armas, o señalándolo por letras en tierra, o en arena' (1972: III, 362; PVI, TI, Ley IV). With peasants, the difficulty was more likely to be the witnesses' illiteracy (1972: III, 362; PVI, TI, Ley VI). For obvious reasons, there is a larger amount of evidence concerning the contents of written wills, 'El testamento oral no tenía necesariamente que ser recogido por escrito, por lo que apenas deja huellas' (Cantera Montenegro 1987: 39).

To understand the significance of medieval wills we must understand both the context in which they were made and their content. Wills were often made by people who were either sick or dying, as is suggested by the fact that the standard formula for a will given in the *Siete Partidas* begins 'Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como yo [...], seyendo enfermo del cuerpo et sano de la voluntat' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 618; PIII, TXVIII, Ley CIII).²⁰ Cantera Montenegro in her sample of Riojan wills from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries has found that similar expressions are frequently used, 'es frecuente encontrarnos con fórmulas como "estando enfermo del cuerpo e sano del entendimiento, [...]", "flaco del cuerpo e sano del entendimiento", "estando doliente de mi enfermedad, pero con todo mi buen seso" ' (1987: 37-38). Further confirmation of this comes in the introduction to the sixth *Partida* which explains that since the

previous *Partida* concerned legal agreements made during life, 'queremos aquí decir de los testamentos que facen *a su fin*' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 359; PVI, my italics). In San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor* the *auctor* alludes to the expectation that a sick or dying person would make his will when he describes Leriano, gravely ill as a result of his imprisonment in the *Cárcel*, as being, 'más para hazer memorial de su hazienda que carta de su pasión' (San Pedro 1985: 98). The will, or a codicil to it, might be made after the dying person's final confession, to show detachment from the material cares and belongings which might tie him to this world and also in order to remedy any ills he might have committed. In a description of the death of Fernando de Antequera, King of Aragón (1412-1416), the will is mentioned in the same phrase as the sacraments, which shows its importance, as well as suggesting that it was written as death approached. He died 'después de haber rescebido con muy gran devoción los sacramentos y hecho su testamento' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 370).²¹ His older brother, Enrique III of Castile, appears to have made his will on his deathbed. It is dated 24 December 1406 (Pérez de Guzmán 1914b: 269-70) and he died the next day (López de Ayala 1914b: 247).²² Fernando 'el Católico' was still amending the contents of his shortly before he died in 1516, 'y con mucha dificultad se pudo tornar a escribir; porque el mal del Rey se agravaba' (Galíndez de Carvajal 1914: 564). This is in accordance with the evidence from Bury St Edmunds between 1439 and 1530, concerning which Robert Dinn concludes that, 'The death bed was probably [...] where wills were drawn up since the usually narrow gap between writing the will and probate suggests that wills were written close to death' (1992: 154). Cantera Montenegro too finds that:

²⁰ The will was not necessarily written by the dying person. The 'testamentos escritos serían, fundamentalmente, los dictados al escribano o notario, ya que para ese período se había generalizado el testamento público ante notario' (Cantera Montenegro 1987: 39).

²¹ Julian Weiss gives 1377-1460 as approximate dates for the life of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (1991: 96).

²² Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407) was a 'poet, soldier, diplomat, *canciller mayor* of Castile, translator of Boccaccio and Guido delle Colonne, and commentator on the book of Job. His *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla* are full of details about events and personalities he knew from first-hand experience' (Nader 1979: 25).

la enfermedad, y por tanto la posibilidad o el temor a la muerte cercana, era la principal impulsora del redactor del testamento, pues de los 83 testamentos, 40 fueron redactados estando enfermo el testador; pero a ellos habría que añadir otros en que no se hace constar el estado de enfermedad aunque ésta debía de ser un hecho, pues por alguna otra fuente sabemos que poco después ha muerto' (1987: 38).

Given that wills were often written close to death and were one of the recognised signs that the dying person accepted their impending death, it should not surprise us that they contained a large religious element. According to Binski, 'the medieval will was a legal means of settling an estate; but it was also a religious document, the aim of which was to settle the soul' (1996: 33). Enrique II's will begins in a fairly typical way by invoking God and all the other inhabitants of Heaven and makes explicit the will's function as a statement of faith:

En el nombre de Dios Padre, e Fijo, e Espíritu Sancto, que son tres personas, e un Dios verdadero, que vive e regna para siempre: e de la Virgen gloriosa Sancta María su madre, a la qual nos avemos por nuestra abogada e ayudadora en todos nuestros fechos: e a honra e loor de todos los Sanctos e Sanctas de la Corte Celestial. Porque segund Dios e derecho e buena razón *todo ome es tenudo e obligado de facer conoscimiento a Dios su Señor e Criador* [...]: por ende sepan todos quantos esta carta de Testamento vieren como nos don Enrique por la gracia de Dios rey de Castilla, de León, de Toledo, de Galicia, de Sevilla, de Córdoba, de Murcia, de Jaén, del Algarbe, de Algecira, e señor de Molina, estando en nuestra buena memoria e entendimiento, e conociendo a nuestro Señor Dios Criador e Salvador de todas las gracias e beneficios [...] que nos fizo, e muchos más, por procurar e dexas en buen estado la nuestra ánima, e los nuestros regnos que nos dio e encomendó, e *creyendo firmemente en la Sancta Trinidad, en la Fe Católica*, e temiéndonos de la muerte, que es natural, de la qual ningund ome terrenal non puede escapar: por ende establescemos e ordenamos este nuestro postrimero testamento (Enrique II 1914: 39, my italics).²³

Further, the will showed that the testator was loosening his grip on his material possessions and freeing himself from avarice, one of the sins against which the *Ars moriendi* warn *Moriens*: it 'acted as a sign of the testator's willingness to pass on property and goods, and sever links with the material world' (Daniell 1997: 33). The need to make restitution is also mentioned in the *Arte de bien morir*, where *Moriens* is

²³ Enrique II was crowned in Burgos in 1366 (López de Ayala 1919: 540-541) but the previous king, Pedro I, was not murdered until 1369. Enrique II died in 1379, having written this will in 1374. His son

asked various questions to which he is expected to reply in the affirmative, one of which is, '¿quieres todas las cosas por ti tomadas de mala parte, rrestitujllas en quanto eres obligado según el valor de tu hacienda [...]?' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 168). If the testator chose to settle any outstanding matters which might hinder his soul's passage to Heaven this was considered a sign that he was penitent. An example of the use of the will to lighten the burden of sins attributable to the soul is the specification made by Juan I that enquiries should be made to discover if he had wronged anyone and restitution made if necessary, 'en manera que nuestra ánima sea de los dichos agravios e debdas bien desembargada' (López de Ayala 1914b: 188). The prototype will included in the *Partidas* mentions restitution and the provisions the testator would make both for the burial of their body and the benefit of their soul:

Primeramente mando a tal iglesia tantos maravedís por mi alma: et desí debe escrebir el escribano todas las mandas que él face por su alma et las otras que face por razón de su sepultura, et las debdas que debe et los tuertos que fizo a otrí que manda endereszar en la manera que las dixiere el que face el testamento (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 618; PIII, TXVIII, Ley CIII).

The will was often used to give extensive instructions on how the funeral should be conducted and on the type of spiritual assistance, such as masses, the testator wished to have.

The business part of the will, in which heirs were established, tended to come after the more spiritual sections, designed to benefit the soul of the testator. This part of the will could be of extreme importance in lessening discord after the testator's death in the case that he had valuable possessions of which to dispose. In his own will Enrique II included a special exhortation to his son regarding this matter:

rogamos e mandamos al dicho infante que todavía tenga su testamento fecho, e que le faga con quatro o cinco de los que él fiare en aquella manera que él más

Juan I reigned from 1379-90 and the start of his will is almost identical to that of his father (López de Ayala 1914b: 186), as is that of Enrique III (1390-1406) (Pérez de Guzmán 1914b: 264).

entendiere que cumple al servicio de Dios e suyo, e a pro e guarda de los regnos, para que en tal manera, después de sus días, non aya división ninguna en ellos (Enrique II 1914: 43).

This fear was not unfounded: Juan I died in 1390 leaving a will which was out of date, having been written when he hoped to conquer Portugal and abdicate from the throne of Castile, leaving it to his son, Enrique III. Civil unrest resulted in Castile, with different factions variously upholding and denying the validity of the document:

Como quier quel rey don Juan dexó este testamento así ordenado, segund avedes oído, empero ordenó en su vida otras cosas de otra manera que en el dicho testamento se contiene: e por esto ovo después de su muerte muy grandes contiendas e porfías entre muchos señores e caballeros (López de Ayala 1914b: 194).

Even such an ostensibly practical part of the will could thus have a spiritual element, particularly in the case of a king. More than any other sin Enrique IV's obdurate refusal to name his heir condemned him to Hell, since according to Fray Juan de Mazuelo who attended him:

entre todos vuestros pecados éste sería el más detestable e más enorme, como de todos los otros podríades ser asuelto por Dios todopoderoso, si fielmente lo confesáis, aviendo dellos verdadero arrepentimiento, e deste nunca, pues por vuestro callar dexáis llama encendida en que vuestros reynos se quemen, e daréis lugar a los malos para perseverar en su acostumbrada tiranía (Valera 1914: 94).

Those who prevented a dying person from making a will were potentially damaging his soul's prospects, as well as depriving his heirs of what was rightfully theirs. If discovered, such individuals would lose their right to any of the dead person's property, 'Et esta pena debe haber por el grant yerro que face a Dios, et por el atrevimiento et el tuerto que face al señor de la tierra, et al alma del finado et a todos los otros homes en dar mal enxiemplo de sí' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 373; PVI, TI, Ley XXVI). Martínez de Toledo described the intimidation of the dying person and intended it to be a warning to his readers to make their wills while they were less vulnerable:

estále mirando con los ojos ravisos el sano al enfermo, amenazándole que si non otorga e dize 'sí', que, ellos idos, le ha de matar; e con esto e otras cosas fazen dezir 'sí' al que de voluntad diría 'non', e esto porque para tal tiempo se lo esperó, a la fin quando non era en sí nin de sí [...]. Sepa, pues, que será bien prudente el que en su vida lo suyo hordenare en sanidad, con su entero juizio e seso (1979: 139).²⁴

Family members, even when less aggressive in their approach, might use emotional blackmail and deprive the dying of spiritual support. The *Arte de bien morir* observed that:

el marido o la muger restante, e los fijos e parientes que entienden de heredar sus bienes, más procuran a lo induzir a su amor, llorándolo por que les dexe más bienes. E lo que peor es aun non dexan entrar a personas devotas que los confortarían, por recelo que les fagan mudar el testamento o mandas. E assí, muchas vezes, las ánimas de los morientes miserablemente se peligran (1999: 119).

Even when not physically present, close relatives were still thought so dangerous to the dying person's spiritual well-being that the *Arte de bien morir* recommended that, 'mucho se deve guardar que, a alguno stante en el artículo de la muerte non sean reduzidos a la memoria la muger, fijos, amigos corporales e otros bienes temporales, salvo en quanto requiere aquello la salud espiritual d'él' (1999: 111). Very different were those 'personas deuotas' who attended the deathbed and were considered of great utility in praying for the dying and in exhorting them to show contrition and true faith. It is for this reason that the *Arte de bien morir* recommends as large a number of assistants at a deathbed as possible, 'Tan grande es la fuerça y la nesçesidad deste artículo, que sy posible fuese toda la çibdad se deuría aquejar a venjr apresuradamente para el que está a la muerte' (*Arte 'E'* 1990: 198).²⁵ If many were not available, there should be at least one:

²⁴ See Lecoy 1974: 204-206 for further examples of the theme as it appears in literature.

²⁵ See Paxton (1993) for the importance given to attendance at deaths in early medieval monastic communities, and the consequent wide diffusion of guides to detecting the signs of impending death. The haste with which the monks hurried to the deathbed is attested in the *Arte de bien morir*, 'en algunas rreligiones [...] tienen ordenado por estatuto que, quando se açerca el enfermo a la muerte, oýda la tabla a qualquier ora que sea, todos los frayres vayan en vn punto al enfermo, dexadas todas las ocupaçiones. E avn les es defendido a los rreligiosos correr por la onestad de su estado, saluo quando les acaesçiere para el que está a la muerte, o a matar el fuego' (*Arte 'E'* 1990: 198).

cada uno deve con grand diligencia e cuidado proveer de algund amigo o compañero devoto, idóneo e fiel, el qual le sea e esté presente en su fin e muerte, para que le conseje e conforte en la constancia de la fe, e lo incite e provoque a aver paciencia e devoción, confiança e caridad e perseverança en todas buenas obras, dándole esfuerço e animando en la agonía e batalla final (*Arte* 1999: 118).

In 1497 King Fernando gave this type of consolation to his dying son, Juan, encouraging him to show patience and faith, with the words:

Fijo mucho amado, aved paciencia, pues que vos llama Dios, que es mayor Rey que ninguno otro, y tiene otros reinos y señoríos mayores e mejores que non estos que vos teníades y esperábades para vos dar, que os durarán para siempre jamás, y tened corazón para recibir la muerte, que es forzoso a cada uno recibirla una vez, con esperanza que es para siempre inmortal e vivir en gloria (Bernáldez 1914: 691).

The deathbed was not, therefore, a private place or one where the dying were allowed to pass gently away; rather they might be harangued and exhorted by large numbers of people, as in the case of Leriano in *Cárcel de Amor*, 'ívanle a veer todos sus amigos y parientes, y para desvialle su propósito dezíanle todas las cosas en que pensavan provecho' (San Pedro 1985: 155).²⁶

As we have seen, penance often took place at much the same time as the making of the will because, to an even greater extent, it righted sins committed by the dying throughout their lives. Penance was, obviously, not a sacrament reserved for the dying, but it formed an essential part of the rituals involved in the good death and the priest was strongly advised to attend the sickbed:

Coitados seyendo los homes de enfermedat o de muerte conviene que sean aína acorridos, ca así como los físicos son tenudos de acorrer con melecinas para sanar el cuerpo, así los que han de pensar del alma deben ser apercebidos et venir con acorrimiento a los pecadores para sanarlos de pecado (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 155; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXIX).

²⁶ Gerli has suggested that his 'deathbed visitors [...] are likely intended to suggest the formal groupings of friends and relations recommended for the genteel, Christian death in the *Ars Moriendi*' (1981: 416).

According to the *Siete Partidas* penance cleanses the soul, 'lavando la voluntad, que non puede ser lavada por otra cosa sinon por la penitencia, quando saca della las manciellas de los pecados et de los yerros que los homes facen' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 117; PI, TIV, Ley LX).

Under normal circumstances, the priest taking confession might seek advice if he felt unsure which penance to assign to a particular sin, or if the sin confessed was one he was not qualified to absolve. In times of great danger and urgency, however, the rules could be relaxed. If:

el clérigo que veniese a él [the sick person] non fuese tan entendido para le dar luego consejo complidamente para su alma, sil viesse estar en peligro de muerte, débele luego absolver después que se le hobiese confesado de sus pecados, [...] de guisa que si moriese de aquel mal, que non vaya por ellos al infierno, [...] mas con todo eso débel mandar que si de aquel mal guaresciere, que luego vaya a tomar penitencia de sus pecados dél o de otro, para haber complidamente consejo para su alma (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 155-156; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXIX).

Penance was thought so important for the dying that although under normal circumstances it could only be given by a priest, if none were available and the need was pressing, 'si alguno hobiese tal enfermedad o otra cuita por que quisiese tomar penitencia ante del tiempo quel tenía en voluntad de la facer' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 136; PI, TIV, Ley LXXV) then a lay person could hear the confession:

si [...] clérigos non hobiese, tan santa cosa es la penitencia et tan grant fuerza ha, que puede manefestar sus pecados al lego: et maguer que el lego non haya poder de le absolver de sus pecados, gana perdón de Dios por aquel repentimiento que ha, et por la buena voluntad que tenía consigo que se confesaríe al clérigo si lo haber podiese. Pero si después estorciese de aquel peligro, débese manifestar después al clérigo; porque atal confesión como la que habíe fecho de primero con el lego non vale sinon a hora de coita, non pudiendo al facer (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 136-137; PI, TIV, Ley LXXV).

It was also recognised that the sick and dying might have other special needs. Their illness might have left them unable to speak properly, but this would not cheat them of their right to have the sacraments administered:

quando viene a hora de cuita et ha de recibir algunos sacramentos que deben ser dados en aquella sazón, maguer non lo pueda mostrar por palabra seyendo mudo, o que hobiese perdida la fabla por enfermedat, [...] et mostrase algunas señales de repentimiento feriendo sus pechos, o gimiendo, o sospirando, o llorando, por eso non deben dexar de le dar la comunión, nin de le ungir (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 143; PI, TIV, Ley LXXX).

On the other hand, the illness might progress so rapidly, or the death be so sudden that the dying person might be unable to receive the sacraments.²⁷ This was one reason why the Church urged Christians to take confession frequently:

a las vegadas tanto afinca a los homes las enfermedades que pierden el seso o la fabla de guisa que non han poder de confesarse como deben: ca tanto se agravia a las vegadas la enfermedat, que non pueden facer ninguna señal de repentimiento, et moriendo desta guisa son perdidos (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 146; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXII).

The ideal death would, by contrast, allow the dying person sufficient time to receive the sacraments and would not deprive them of their mental faculties. It is in this context that the promise, 'Quien por la Virgen ayuna con devoción, / morir non le dexa sin confesión' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 159), should be understood. The Virgin does not prevent the death of the protagonist of this *exemplum*, who had been mortally wounded, but she keeps him alive until he can be found, a priest brought to him and confession administered, and 'él asuelto, luego dio el ánima a Dios' (1961: 159). The Virgin's intervention allowed him to gain the salvation he might have been denied had he not been absolved of his sins prior to death. The fact that death might arrive suddenly meant that all Christians, to be sure of their place in Heaven, should be continually cleansing and preparing their souls for death.

²⁷ The gestures made in *Celestina* by either Sempronio or Pármeno as they are dying after jumping from a high window in an attempt to avoid arrest for Celestina's murder have been interpreted by Deyermund as signs of contrition, 'Me parece muy posible - hasta muy probable - que Rojas nos indique en la *Tragicomedia* el arrepentimiento de uno de los criados' (1984: 138). There is, however, no indication that there was time for either of them to receive absolution.

Having been absolved of their sins by confession the dying were entitled to receive the *viaticum*. If unable to attend communion in the church, they could request that the priest come to them. He would then proceed through the streets, dressed in clean clothes, presumably as part of a procession, since he was to carry the host and be accompanied by a lighted candle, signifying that, 'aquella hostia que lieva es lumbre verdadera et durable' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 184; PI, TIV, Ley CXVII), a cross, holy water and a bell, which was to be rung 'por dar a entender a los homes que vienen que se homillen a Dios' (1972: I, 184; PI, TIV, Ley CXVII).²⁸ Such a procession would no doubt also have served to alert the neighbourhood to the presence of a sick or dying person in their midst (Alexandre-Bidon 1998: 79), and encouraged prayers for them.

From the twelfth century anointing, which had previously been thought of more in terms of its function in the healing of the sick, acquired the name 'extreme unction' and became the sacrament of the dying, which removed their sins (*New Catholic Encyclopedia* 1967: 570–571). As a result, it became the final sacrament to be administered:

In this period Anointing replaces Viaticum as the final Sacrament. In the older rituals the order of administering the Sacraments to the dying was Penance, Anointing, and Viaticum. The rituals of this period give the order as Penance, Viaticum, Anointing (*New Catholic Encyclopedia* 1967: 571).

Extreme unction served to cleanse the dying of their sins and prepare them for death and the life to come, 'ca por ésta solamente se desatan los pecados veniales que embargan al home mucho en su vida, et mayormiente después que muere' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 51; PI, TIV, Ley VI). Sancho IV received this latter sequence of sacraments prior to his death in 1295, 'confesóse e tomó el cuerpo de Nuestro Señor, e fízose ungir' (*Crónica SIV* 1919: 89). Similarly, Fernando 'el Católico', having confessed and written his will,

²⁸ One *exemplum* describes how even the Devil himself kneels and removes his headgear when he sees 'un sacerdote [...] que levava el Cuerpo de Dios a un enfermo' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 337). The

'rescibió el Santísimo Sacramento, y más tarde pidió la unción' (Galíndez de Carvajal 1914: 565). The writing of the will or some verbal equivalent often occurred at much the same time as the sacrament of penance, also referred to as 'confession'. This was followed by communion, with the eucharist in this particular instance being known as the *viaticum*, because it was being given as 'a provision for the journey to the other world' (Paxton 1990: 33).

Finally the anointing of the dying person known as extreme unction would take place. The chrism which was used for anointing the sick and dying was made on only one day of the year, 'tovo por bien santa egleſia que feciesen la crisma, [...] et se sagrase el jueves de la Cena quando el nuestro ſeñor Iesu Cristo ſagró el pan et el vino por su ſangre et por su carne' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 83; PI, TIV, Ley XXXII). This day was chosen because on it Christians think of the sufferings of Christ and seek to cast off their sins:

et porque en el cabo de la quaresma establecieron que dixiesen en las Horas la paſión et la muerte que recibió nuestro ſeñor Iesu Cristo por nos, et que membrándonos de la ſu dolor que nos doliéſemos de nos mesmos, porque nos alimpiáſemos de nuestros pecados; por ende en este tiempo tan ſanto et tan limpio tovo por bien ſanta egleſia que feciesen la crisma (1972: I, 83; PI, TIV, Ley XXXII).

In the *Ars moriendi*, *Moriens* is exhorted to concentrate his thoughts on Christ's suffering and death on the cross. It is possible that the chrism, through its purpose in removing sin and via memories of the Easter period at which it was made, may have assisted the dying in recalling the passion of the Lord. The method by which it was to be applied was as follows:

esta unción deben facer en ſiete lugares del cuerpo, en los ojos, et en las orejas, et en las narices, et en la boca, et en las manos, et en los pies, et en los lomos a los varones, et a las mugeres en los ombligos: et por eso la facen en estos ſiete

Devil explains that, 'por fuerça oviera de fincar los ynojos e tirar la corona' (1961: 337).

lugares, porque son los miembros con que los homes et las mugeres más pecan (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 191; PI, TIV, Ley CXXV).

The sites to be anointed were associated with sin, namely the organs which represent the five senses (eyes, ears, nose, mouth and hands). Feet, as the case of Celestina and the most aptly named Trotaconventos of the *Libro de buen amor*, would have been useful for travelling to locations where one might commit sins or encourage others to sin. Regarding feet, the *Breve confesionario* instructs the penitent to mention all the sins he had committed with each of his five senses and also the feet, describing them as ‘sus pies, con los quales se fue a lugares deshonestos e defendidos, assí como a las puterías, tabernas et torneamentos’ (Arte 1999: 135). The other places to be anointed were those which represented the sexual organs and which were therefore associated with the sin of lust.²⁹ That women were to be anointed on the belly-button seems to be a concession to decency but even so the sacrament seems to have presented some difficulties for the most modest women, such as Queen Isabel:

Era tanta la honestidad e tan grande la observancia de su pudicicia, que al tiempo que la estremaución le fue dada, ningún miembro suyo quiso que fuese visto, sino de solo el sacerdote, y no de ningún criado ni criada de su real casa (*Continuación* 1914: 523).

While the services of both the doctor and the priest might be required by the sick, the treatment prescribed by the priest was deemed to be superior for he ministered to the eternal soul. If the patient was in danger of death, the priest’s medicine was more vital than the doctor’s, for only it could bring eternal life. The law given in the *Siete Partidas* headed, ‘Que los físicos non deben melecinar los enfermos fasta que sean confesados’ (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 146; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXIII), makes the superiority of spiritual over physical healing extremely clear, stating that, ‘Así como el alma es noble más que el cuerpo, así deben pensar della primeramente’ (1972: I, 146; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXIII). Excommunication threatened any doctor who thought of the

body first, the soul second and advised a patient 'que fagan cosa por que cayan en pecado mortal' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 148; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXIII). The difference in doctors' and priests' attitudes towards the sick was perhaps due to their differing approaches to understanding the causes of death. As we have seen, from a theological perspective death was a direct consequence of God's decision to separate a body and soul and attempts to postpone it were therefore both futile and sinful. Medical theory, however, taught that death resulted from the operation of the humours in the body and that though death was inescapable, its arrival could be slowed or accelerated. This is the theory as explained by Turin to the Infante in Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados*:

lo(s) más que ella [the soul] puede fincar en el cuerpo es en quanto en él dura la calentura et la humidat natural. Et esta calentura et humidat natural, del día que nasce el omne fasta que muere, cada día mengua et non ha cosa en el mundo que la pueda acresçentar. Ca el comer nin el verer non acresçenta en la calentura nin en la humidat natural, mas emiéndal et mantiénello que se desfaze del cuerpo por los trabajos et por los vaziamientos quel acaesçen. Mas ay otras rrazones por que esta calentura et humidat natural se desfaze más aína, así commo por dolenças o por feridas o por vaziamientos que desfazen más de la calentura et de la humidat natural de quanto es (lo) que se mantiene por el comer et por el verer (1974: 24-25).

Villena too describes the ageing process in terms of the loss of heat and humidity, which lead to death. He chooses as an example King David who could not be kept warm in his old age, despite his rich clothes, 'tanto en él era natura debilitada que los vestidos escalentar non lo podían [...] non por mengua de muchos e buenos vestidos, ca rey poderoso era e rico, mas por mengua de húmido radical en el senio minuydo' (1976: 75-76). When the radical moisture had not dropped to such a low level, however, it was thought possible to preserve the life of the patient. According to Avicenna, 'the moisture from which we were initially created can be either corrupted or destroyed. The physician can prevent its corruption, but he cannot prevent its eventual consumption' (McVaugh 1974: 267).

²⁹ The word *lomo* is used in much the same way as the English word 'loin'. We thus find a son referred to as 'su propia carne, [...] lo que engendraron sus lomos' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 116).

The hope of a possible medical cure would no doubt have distracted the patient from concentrating wholeheartedly on his spiritual well-being, a matter on which the *Arte de bien morir* advised:

en alguna manera non se deve dar mucha esperança al enfermo que conseguirá la salud corporal, ca segund dize un famoso Doctor, Chanceller de París: 'Muchas vezes por esta tal falsa consolación e simulada confiança de salud corporal, incurre el ombre en cierta condempnación, creyendo que non ha de morir de aquella enfermedad' (1999: 82-3).

Furthermore, as the *Partidas* suggest, certain medically-recognised cures were not in accordance with Christian morality.³⁰ In any case, the assistance that the priest could bring was thought to have an effect on the body as well as on the soul, 'seyendo el alma sana, mas aína ha salud el cuerpo por ende' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 146-147; PI, TIV, Ley LXXXIII) and according to the *Arte de bien morir*:

muchas vezes, como dize la decretal, la enfermedad corporal ha nascimiento de la enfermedad del ánima. E por ende, el Papa estrechamente manda a los físicos de los cuerpos que non se entremetan a curar algunt enfermo antes que le amoneste que llame al físico espiritual y se confiese. Mas esta santa ordenación ya casy de todo está tornada en contrario, que más aína buscan ya los onbres la medesçina carnal que non la espiritual (*Arte 'E'* 1990: 193).

This, then, was the theological basis for the description of the oil used for the unction of the sick and dying as 'complida melecina celestial para toller todos los dolores et las enfermedades, también de las voluntades, como de los cuerpos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 94; PI, TIV, Ley XXXVIII). Given the diabolic temptations facing the dying, it is not surprising that one of the prayers to be said over the oil as it was being made asked God to make it strong enough to expel the Devil:

³⁰ With regard to love-sickness, for example it was thought that, 'the sexual act constituted its natural outlet. So doctors insistently recommended it; ideally, it should be performed with the loved person, but since the illness most often resulted from the very fact that this was impossible, it was recommended that the act be performed with different people, so as to avoid the risk of a new "fixation" of the passions. Morality retired into the background when it was necessary to re-establish the temporarily interrupted sequence of vital processes' (Jacquart & Thomasset 1988: 85).

porque él saque de sus miembros que con él fueren untados los poderes del diablo que es nuestro avversario, et que la gracia del Espíritu santo los esfuerce, tolliendo dellos los pecados, et les aduga a sanidad et a salvación complida (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 94; PI, TIV, Ley XXXVIII).

As we have already seen, some of the dying, though able to receive the sacraments, had already lost the power of speech. The symptoms of approaching death could weaken the faculties, and some surprise is therefore evinced in Leriano's audience by his speech made 'tan cercano a la muerte, en cuya sazón las menos vezes se halla sentido' (San Pedro 1985: 171). The possibility that the dying might be unable to speak is reflected in the *Arte de bien morir* which states that the dying person 'deue deuotamente orar, si non puede por la boca, alomenos en su coraçón' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 170). The *Arte* also provides 'algunas oraciones que a de dezir el enfermo si pudiere, si non, algunos de los que estuvieren presentes' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 149). The dying Estevan in Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* managed to say these prayers himself, 'fizo su oración' (1971: 99). If the dying did succeed in uttering prayers or pious words to the very end, this contributed to the sense that their death had been good. Such was the case of Juana Enríquez, Queen of Aragón and mother of Fernando 'el Católico', who in 1468:

partió desta vida [...] después de aver recebido todos los sacramentos con muy gran reverencia e contrición, *fablando muy cathólicamente*, en consolación del aflexido señor e marido, sin aver memoria de cosa alguna de las temporales, de donde se cree según sus virtudes e la forma que en su vivir tovo e la muerte gloriosa que ovo, ser cibdadana en aquella soberana cibdad a que todos sospiramos (Valera 1914: 45, my italics).

Far from bewailing her impending separation from her beloved husband, she consoled him for his loss and her lucid and spiritual words contributed to Valera's assessment of her death as 'gloriosa'.

If credible, accounts of miraculous events at the time of death or just after it were the final and most authoritative sign that a good death had taken place. Such

events could even counteract elements in a death which might otherwise have placed its status as a good death in question. One example of the sacred being used in this way is to be found in Valera's account of the death of Alfonso, Isabel I's younger brother, which occurred in 1468. Alfonso had been proclaimed King in 1465 by a rebel faction of the nobility after they had enacted a symbolic dethronement of Enrique IV in the so-called Farce of Ávila. An anti-Enrique IV chronicler, Valera adds details which do not appear in Enríquez del Castillo's account. Enríquez relates merely that:

el príncipe se sintió malo de una seca, en tanto grado, que luego parecieron en él señales de muerte, en tal manera, que no lo pudieron sacar de allí; donde estuvo por espacio de quatro días, cada día mas aquexado, hasta que al quinto día falleció (1914: 178).

Valera however tells us that having eaten a 'trucha en pan', Alonso felt unusually sleepy:

e fuese a acostar en su cama sin fablar palabra a persona, e durmió allí fasta otro día a hora de tercia, lo qual no solía acostumar; e llegaron a él los de su cámara, e tentaron sus manos e cuerpo, e no le fallaron callentura, e como no despertaba, comenzaron a dar voces, y él no respondió (1914: 45).

The scene is one of great pathos and despite all the prayers of his attendants he died, without apparently regaining consciousness. This would not seem to be a particularly good death given that Alfonso died unexpectedly, with no preparation. It seems significant therefore that Valera describes him as 'el inocente Rey' (1914: 45), an assertion perhaps designed to counteract the implications of his failure to receive the sacraments.³¹ To make his assessment of Alfonso's character more authoritative, Valera adds that many others died at the same time:

³¹ Though young, Alfonso was over fourteen at the time of his death and had therefore attained the age of majority. Adulthood was deemed to begin at age fourteen, 'el mozo que es menor de catorce años et la moza que es menor de doce años, [...] non han entendimiento cumplido' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 366; PVI, TI, Ley XIII). As he had had no time to receive the sacraments prior to death it would seem unlikely, from a theological point of view, that he could be considered truly innocent.

los quales revelaron a la hora de su muerte su fallecimiento e su eterna felicidad, mayormente los niños, los quales dixerón aver de ir a la gloria en compañía del rey don Alonso, el qual aquella hora daba el espíritu a Dios (1914: 46).

This transforms the death from one which was bad and might therefore have reinforced Alfonso's opponents' claims that Enrique was the rightful King, to one where the death is exalted.

Valera, keen to accept miracles concerning the death of Alfonso, was less so when they were unfavourable to Juan II of Aragón, father of Fernando 'el Católico'. When Carlos de Viana, Fernando's half-brother, died in Barcelona in 1461 it was rumoured that he had been poisoned by his father or his step-mother. Valera alleges that attempts were made to increase the political opposition to Juan II by creating a false aura of sanctity around the dead prince:

entre las otras maldades atentaron una no fecha semejante fasta entonces en el mundo, la qual fue que sepultaron al príncipe don Carlos en forma de santo, y ficiéronle altar, y pusiéronle diadema, y buscaron hombres pobres a quien dieron gran suma de dineros tomando dellos estrecho juramento que jamás este secreto revelasen, de los quales unos se hicieron ciegos, otros tullidos, o endemoniados, y otros de muy diversas enfermedades, que viniesen velar delante del príncipe don Carlos, y salidos de allí publicasen que salían sanos cada uno de la enfermedad que tenía; esto para enemistar al Rey y a la Reyna con todos los catalanes (Valera 1914: 23).

This assertion of holiness was designed to turn Carlos into a martyr who would provide credibility for political opposition to his 'murderers'. As we have seen, Valera described at some length the good death of Juana Enríquez, the very woman accused of having a hand in Carlos's murder. Calling her 'la ilustrísima reyna doña Juana' (1914: 45) he explained that it was her concern for her husband, who wished to have his cataracts operated on, that caused her death, 'con el enojo del trabajo del Rey, como de no poder remediar en lo que tanto deseaba, le vino callentura, de tal manera, que [...] partió desta vida en edad floreciente' (1914: 45). This cause of death may have been intended by Valera to bring to mind a comparison with certain of the virtuous wives of Antiquity,

including the legendary Queen Alcestis, mentioned in his *Tratado en defenssa de virtuossas mugeres*.³² Given that he mentioned the suspicions against Queen Juana, it seems likely that Valera wished to show her in the best possible light in order to refute such allegations: this may explain why his description of her death is not only good, but is also marked by a miracle, the exuding from her body of the odour of sanctity, 'en el punto que la Reyna espiró tan suave olor procedió de su cuerpo, que sobraba a todos los olores naturales' (1914: 45). Once more the motive behind the presentation of a death as a good one may be political, but it also reveals which signs were thought to mark the particularly good death.

³² The *Tratado* must have been composed prior to the death of its dedicatee, Queen María of Castilla, in 1445 (*Prosistas castellanos* 1959: cxx). Valera refers to Alcestis as, 'la muger del rey Amete, de Tesalia' (1959c: 57) and in his glosses to the work adds that, 'tan singularmente amó al dicho rey, que como por el dios Apolo fuesse profetisado qu'él morría prestamente si no avía quien voluntariosamente quisiesse tomar la muerte por él, la noble dueña [...] se mató por salvar la vida de su marido' (1959c: 69). Juana Enríquez's death did not, of course, save her husband's life but it did assist him in that once she was no longer there to prevent him, he had the operation and it was very successful. Her sentiments are nonetheless presented as creditable ones.

3. The *defensores*: good death in battle

Although the king was the most exalted in rank of the *defensores*, the 'personaje más destacado de la estructura laica del poder' (Guiance 1998: 30), his very special status in many respects set him apart from other *defensores*. In particular, kings had a special relationship with God, 'Vicarios de Dios son los reyes cada uno en su regno puestos sobre las gentes para mantenerlas en justicia et en verdad quanto en lo temporal, bien así como el emperador en su imperio' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 7; PII, TI, Ley V), or, put more simply by Diego de Valera in a letter to Juan II in 1441, 'reináis por Dios en la tierra, al qual mucho devéis parecer' (1959b: 3).³³ It should not surprise us, therefore, if the deaths of monarchs often conformed to the model of the *oradores* and, indeed, Guiance has found strong parallels between the descriptions of the deaths of kings and saints:

Al igual que los monarcas, estos elegidos del Señor también tienen plena consciencia de la proximidad de su deceso y, en sus últimos instantes, se libran de sus ataduras temporales, se encomiendan a Dios, aceptan los sacramentos y se despiden pidiendo públicamente perdón por sus pecados [...] la proximidad de ambos modelos no sólo es evidente sino que, además, los dos se nutren de la misma fuente (Guiance 1998: 301).

In seeking the *defensores*' model of the good death, I have therefore looked not at these exceptional members of the class, but rather at others whom I believe are more representative members of it.³⁴ As the very rationale for the existence of the *defensores* was the need to fight, and they therefore faced a real possibility of dying suddenly in the midst of violent conflict, I believe that they would have considered such a death honourable and, by extension, good.

³³ Nicholas Round examines the use of language which claims this status for Juan II in the context of the derogation in early 1453 of laws and other agreements made by Álvaro de Luna (1986: 105-114). The factors underlying the making of such claims and their acceptance in Castile during this king's reign are discussed by MacKay (1977: 131-142).

³⁴ In so doing I differ from Guiance and Eire, both of whom pay particular attention to the deaths of kings and saints.

Caballeros were expected to go into battle determined, like the Castilians fighting on the side of the Portuguese in 1479 to 'morir matando o venciendo, antes que fuir ni dexar el campo' (Pulgar 1914: 343). For the warrior class of *defensores* death was to be feared less than dishonour and any *caballero* was expected to be willing to risk his life, if necessary, in defence of his honour, despite the fact that such sentiments seem incompatible with a number of Christian precepts, including that regarding turning the other cheek (Matthew 5.39; Luke 6.29). As the Duque de Alburquerque memorably said, 'la honra siempre cuelga del peligro' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 162), or, in the words of Luis Fernández Puertocarrero, 'tomamos oficio que nos obliga toda hora a muerte honrada, e nos defiende fuida torpe' (Pulgar 1914: 374). Such a death would have been seen as having occurred in the fulfilment of duty and therefore enhanced the prestige of the dead man, a sentiment encapsulated in the *mote* of Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco, Conde de Haro:

Verdad es, señor, que el temor de la muerte turba a todo omme; pero el cauallero que está obligado a rescebir la muerte loable y huir de vida torpe, deue seguir la dotrina del mote que traés en vuestra deuisa, que dice: *Un bel morir toda la vida honra*, al cual me refiero (Pulgar 1929: 67).³⁵

The honour to be defended might also be that of a collective entity or another individual, 'el fuerte cavallero se pone a la muerte por la causa pública o por defensión de su rey' (Córdoba 1964a: 61). The King was among those 'judged unable to defend their honour personally: women, the aged or infirm, or persons of a social status which prohibited them from responding to a challenge, in particular, churchmen and, of course, royalty' (Pitt-Rivers 1966: 28).

The rationale behind the *defensores'* view that death in battle was a good death is clearly set out by Leriano when he addresses his men before telling them that he

proposes the rescue of just such a person unable to defend her own honour, the Princess Laureola:

juntó sus cavalleros y díxoles cuánto eran más obligados los buenos a temer la vergüença que el peligro; allí les acordó como por las obras que hizieron aún bivía la fama de los pasados; rogóles que por cobdicia de la gloria de buenos no curasen de la de bivos; tráxoles a la memoria el premio de bien morir, y mostróles cuánto era locura temello no pudiendo escusallo; prometióles muchas mercedes, y después que les hizo un largo razonamiento díxoles para qué los había llamado, los cuales a una boz juntos se profirieron a morir con él (San Pedro 1985: 141).

Leriano carefully introduces the main fears, and the primary aspirations of this estate in order to incite them to glory. His role as an orator who encourages his troops by reminding them of their duty and honour parallels that of the 'homes señalados que pedricasen et sopiesen mostrar estas cosas' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 161; PII, TXVIII, Ley XII) who - the *Partidas* stated - should be selected precisely for their ability to reminding their companions that fear should be overcome in order to win *fama*:

maguer natural cosa es de haber los homes miedo de la muerte pero pues que saben que por ello han de pasar, ante deben querer morir haciendo lealtad et derecho, et dar a los homes razón verdadera de los loar después de su fin mucho más que quando eran vivos, et dexar otrosí a su linage buen prez et buena fama [...], que mostrar luego cobardía por que sean tenudos por malos, [...] et dexar su linage mal enfamado para siempre (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 160-161; PII, TXVIII, Ley XII).

Caballeros were not dishonoured for feeling fear, but they were not to let it prevent them from acting bravely. In the words of Luis Fernández Puertocarrero, 'No quiero yo negar el miedo a todo home quando espera mayores fuerzas; mas el temor así como face caer a los flacos, así pone esfuerço a los fuertes' (Pulgar 1914: 374). Both Leriano and the *Partidas* speak of the need to avoid cowardice, a very dishonourable condition inappropriate to all *defensores* which would bring shame on their families. The ignominy of being called a coward was far more to be feared than danger, even the danger of death itself. Any *defensor* who disagreed with this statement would be automatically covering himself with 'vergüença'. According to Julio Caro Baroja, in

³⁵ In *Letra XIII*, written in 1479 and addressed to Pedro Fernández de Velasco.

medieval society it is this 'sense of "shame" ' which 'governs the actions which bring "honour" or "dishonour" ' (1966: 87). The extent to which it could cause *defensores* to place themselves in extreme danger is also mentioned in Gutierre Díaz de Games's *El Victorial*, an account of the life of Don Pedro Niño (1378-1453), 'la vergüença faze morir los fidalgos, e los faze meter a peligro conoçido' (1994: 381). In *Bías contra Fortuna* Bías remains unmoved by all of Fortune's threats, including ones concerning death. His attitude towards death will be that of 'los viriles':

[...] recebirla
con paçiência,
sin punto de resistencia,
e aun oso dezir, pedirla (Santillana 1988: 316).³⁶

The *caballeros*' attitude to death was therefore one of acceptance, just as was the Church's, but it was an acceptance based on a very different set of values. The positive spur to action was the hope of glory and of achieving for themselves the 'vida de la fama' which the great warriors of the past had already achieved. Leriano, having spoken of this, reminds his knights of 'el premio de bien morir'. This good death is clearly not that of the *Ars moriendi*: it is one which results from violence and the pursuit of earthly, not spiritual, glory.³⁷

The *defensores*' concept of the good death was intimately associated with the belief that upholding one's own and one's family's honour, leaving, in the words of the *Partidas* 'a su linage buen prez et buena fama', was paramount. This type of honour, as Caro Baroja has observed, has very little to do with Christianity:

from the ethical or purely Christian concept of 'honour' it is possible to reach another in which the moral laws founded on classical philosophy or on the

³⁶ Santillana wrote this poem to console his cousin, the Conde de Alba, who was imprisoned in 1448 due to the influence of Álvaro de Luna (Foster 1971: 30).

³⁷ This was, of course, an ideal, and in actual fact the *defensores* were often motivated by the desire for power and wealth. Leriano is no fool and, aware that others may not have such high ideals as he himself, does not fail to offer his knights 'muchas mercedes'.

precepts of the Christian religion are revoked, even at times absolutely. For this 'prestige' or '*más valer*' is not attained by following the ideals of Christianity. In reality what moves men to aspire to it is not a matter of ideas at all, but an instinct arising in persons who live within social structures that are even older than Christianity or classical philosophy. 'Prestige', in fact, is connected with an idea of honour which is not individual but collective (1966: 89).

Honour was a paramount consideration for *caballeros*, for as Lope de Stúñiga observed in 1434, 'en la honrra yaze todo el bien del mundo, en la deshonnra todo el mal del mundo' (Rodríguez de Lena 1977: 157). This was the case for both men and women from the estate of *defensores*. As Laureola, heroine of *Cárcel de Amor* writes, 'las mugeres deven ser más obligadas a su fama que a su vida' (San Pedro 1985: 103). One may nonetheless draw a distinction between honour as it applied to the two sexes.

The honour code, when applied to a woman, referred almost exclusively to the guarding of her good name and chastity.³⁸ The desirable qualities in a woman, as outlined by in the *Siete Partidas* and reiterated by others, including Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in his *Coplas de vicios y virtudes* (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 591) and Rojas's Pleberio (1998: 302-303), were 'quatro cosas; la primera que venga de buen linage, la segunda que sea ferosa, la tercera que sea bien costumbrada, la quarta que sea rica' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 41; PII, TVI, Ley I).³⁹ Nobility and virtue were thought to be the most important qualities in a potential wife because they could be transferred to her children:

Et quando el rey hobiere muger que haya en sí todas estas cosas sobredichas, débelo mucho gradescer a Dios, et tenerse por de buena ventura; et si tal non la podiere fallar, cate que sea de buen linage et de buenas costumbres, ca los bienes que se siguen destas dos cosas fincan para siempre en el linage que della deciende (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 42; PII, TVI, Ley I).

³⁸ In the sentimental romances, for example, the 'treatment of women's virtue [...] is largely portrayed through the concept of a lady's *verguença*, "pudeur". *Verguença* is that type of shame or modesty which prevents a courtly lady openly reciprocating sexual advances. By exercising *pudeur* she is publicly seen to protect her own and her familial honour: consequently, female virtue is directly linked to public reputation' (Haywood 1996a: 18).

³⁹ Pérez de Guzmán wrote the *Coplas de vicios y virtudes* between 1432, when he went into retirement on his estate at Batres, and 1452, the date of the *Cancionero de los duques de Gor*, the earliest known manuscript in which they appear (Weiss 1991: 98).

If a woman lost her reputation through her lack of 'buenas costumbres' this was thought to affect her children, partly because they might be expected to inherit her characteristics but also because it cast doubt on their legitimacy. This was the unhappy fate of Juana 'la Beltraneja', the daughter of Queen Juana, wife of King Enrique IV. The speculation concerning the young Juana's father led to Isabel, Enrique's sister, being proclaimed heir to the throne in 1468, and Enríquez del Castillo blamed Queen Juana, 'a la verdad, hablando sin afición e sin pasión, grand culpa e cargo se le debe dar; porque si más honestamente ella viviera, no fuera su hija tratada con tal vituperio' (1914: 180). Unlike men, women's honour was not compromised by cowardice, since women were expected to be timorous: Leriano, for example, writes to Laureola of 'las otras mugeres que de pequeñas causas reciben grandes temores' (San Pedro 1985: 126). As is suggested by *Cárcel de Amor*, where Leriano fights a duel to clear Laureola's name and then rescues her from prison, women were not expected to defend themselves in battle, but would rather seek the assistance of a male champion, 'women gain or regain honor by means of male chivalric pursuits even though they do not take part in them' (Spinelli 1984: 249). In *El conde Lucanor* we find just such a champion in Pero Núñez, who was returning from a long journey with his companions:

llegaron a tierra de Tolosa, et entrando por una villa, toparon con muy grand gente que levavan a quemar una dueña muy onrada porque la acusava un hermano de su marido. E dizía que si algún cavallero non la salvasse, que cumpliesen en ella aquella iusticia (Manuel 1969: 219).⁴⁰

When women did resort to violence personally in order to defend their honour, the *exempla* suggest that they were thought more likely to direct the violence against themselves than against another individual. This is an issue which is discussed further in the section concerning suicide. Goddesses such as Diana or Venus and their nymphs are

⁴⁰ Juan Manuel's *Lucanor* was completed in 1335 (Sturcken 1974: 13).

described fighting pitched battles, as in Santillana's *Sueño* (1988: 131-135) but medieval Castilian ladies were not expected to emulate their exploits.⁴¹

In *Cárcel de Amor fama* is often related to the protagonists' ancestors, and we have already seen the importance of women in transmitting *linage* and *buenas costumbres*. Laureola protests her innocence by reference to 'la virtud que las corónicas pasadas publican de los reyes y reinas donde yo procedo' (San Pedro 1985: 138): their characteristics are to be expected in her, who comes of the same blood-line 'nacida yo de tal sangre' (1985: 138), which guarantees her 'bondad natural' (1985: 138). In the *Siete Partidas* the expectation is that the *fijosdalgo* will marry within their class to protect the nobility of the lineage, which has come to them from their ancestors:

Fidalguía [...] es nobleza que viene a los homes por linage; et por ende deben mucho guardar los que han derecho en ella que non la dañen nin la menguen: [...] non debe querer el fidalgo que él haya de seer de tan mala ventura que lo que en los otros se comenzó et heredaron, mengüe o se acabe en él, et esto serie quando él menguase en lo que los otros acrescentaron casando con villana (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 199-200; PII, TXXI, Ley III).

While they may appear unrelated to the idea of *fama* for the individual after death, such ideas concerning the transmission of nobility in fact encouraged the living to exalt the memory of their ancestors in order to increase their own honour.

But while ancestors could confer honour on their descendants, occasionally a scion of a noble house might, contrary to expectation, be unworthy of the blood they bore. Both possibilities are presented in the *Poema de Mío Cid*:

⁴¹ Julian Pitt-Rivers has found some 'cases of duels between women, particularly [...] in the later nineteenth century, but, like lady-bullfighters, these clearly involve a travesty' (1966: 74n). Such a travesty or inversion of the natural order is found in Juan de Flores's *Triunfo de Amor* where women participate in battle and which ends in the God of Love decreeing that henceforth women will court men, thus inverting contemporary practice and challenging the association between female honour and sexual purity, 'por el peccado de Eva estávades las más santas enamoradas de vosotras en el infierno y limbo de vergüença; pues alçad las manos a este Dios, que de tan grand cativerio a la libertad de los libres vos ha tornado' (1981: 176).

the Cid is the heroic matrilineal forebear of a patrilineal descent group of which he is the apical ancestor. For the Cid, the poem would have us believe, is no less prestigious an ancestor, with respect to the kings descended from him, than the forefathers of the Infantes (Harney 1993: 46).

The Infantes de Carrión, on the other hand, show themselves to be cowardly and unworthy of their illustrious ancestors. Ignoble descendants could retrospectively tarnish the *fama* of the dead and affect both present and future members of the lineage. As King Gaulo explained, Laureola's alleged dishonour, if not erased by punishment, 'podrié amanzillar la fama de los pasados y la honrra de los presentes y la sangre de los por venir' (San Pedro 1985: 132). For the *Partidas*, treason stains the reputation of both the person who commits it and his descendants, 'la trayción en la fama del home [...] la daña et la corrompe de guisa que nunca se puede enderezar [...] et denegrece et manciella la fama de los que de aquel linage descendén, maguer non hayan en ello culpa' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 537; PVII, TII). Similarly, in the case of Pedro de Silva, who though he held a castle for the Queen handed it over to the rebels, the chronicler notes that in carrying out this act he was 'ensuciando su linage' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 161). Exactly the same verb is used by Tefeo in *Cárcel de Amor* when he claims that Leriano's wickedness has sullied the good name of his ancestors, 'ensuziaste por tal error sus nobles obras' (San Pedro 1985: 114). In his turn, when Leriano comes before the King he suggests that Tefeo will corrupt the good name, and the actual virtues of the family from which he springs, 'no consientas que biva hombre que tan mal guarda las preeminencias de sus pasados porque no corronpa su venino los que con él participaren' (1985: 120).⁴² To counter the influence of Tefeo's family, which has already achieved the King's intervention to stop the duel which Tefeo appeared to be about to lose, Leriano reminds the King of his (Leriano's) ancestors:

⁴² The reference to those 'que con él participaren' refers to Tefeo's family, not the three false witnesses used by Persio, because they have not yet appeared before the King and Leriano is therefore unaware of their existence.

devieras acordarte de los servicios que los míos te hizieron, pues sabes con cuánta constança de coraçón cuántos dellos en muchas batallas y combates perdieron por tu servicio las vidas; nunca hueste juntaste que la tercia parte dellos no fuese (1985: 120).

The fact that ancestors are mentioned by both Tefeo and Leriano suggests that their fame had endured and was seen as having continued relevance in creating an expectation concerning the character of their descendants. Assertions of honour and of family status could have a highly political aspect. It seems that Leriano is using the memory of his ancestors to remind the King of his debt to Leriano's family, perhaps hinting that his clan was, and is, more loyal than Tefeo's clan, currently in high favour with the King. The death of Garcilaso de la Vega in the service of Enrique IV was also inadequately rewarded by that king, despite the pleas of many of his relatives, 'le suplicaron que oviese memoria de quantos servicios aquel noble caballero le había fecho, y cómo era muerto en su servicio' (Valera 1914: 18).⁴³ As Leriano may be implying, the consequences for a king of failing to reward members of a loyal family were negative, since it placed in jeopardy the loyalty of others. Following Enrique's ungrateful behaviour, 'todos los Grandes fueron muy mal contentos; y vista la ingratitud del Rey, dende adelante siempre lo desamaron' (1914: 18).⁴⁴

Exaltations of honourable deaths in battle were expressions articulating what Duby would call the 'morale des guerriers' (1981: 27), and vary markedly from the model of the good death proposed by the *oradores*. Yet the two models of the good death could be reconciled thanks to the example of martyr saints and the Church's promotion of crusades which encouraged knights to fight for God rather than a human

⁴³ There is some doubt about the year of Garcilaso's death, 'Gómez Manrique dice – aunque de manera muy confusa, [...] – que la escaramuza fatal ocurrió en 1455, pero los cronistas coinciden en fecharla en 1458' (Deyermond 1987 [1990]: 94). Sieber notes that the *Kalendario de Uclés* confirms the day and month given by Manrique (1989: 288-289n).

⁴⁴ We need not accept the truth of this chronicle's accounts of the event. According to Deyermond, 'se puede suponer que [...] forma parte de la propaganda antienriqueña de la historiografía oficial de los Reyes Católicos' (1987 [1990]: 94). Whether propaganda or truth, the story was thought unflattering to the King because he should have rewarded nobility and devotion.

liege-lord. In addition, the *caballero's* obligation to his king and country could, indirectly, be considered to include the defence of the faith:

Entre muchas cosas que al cavallero se cargan para que tome esta orden e dignamente soporte este nonbre, una es que faga juramento [...]. Aquel viejo e sutil glosador Acursio legista en algunas leyes del derecho çevill dixo que este sacramento era de non refusar la muerte por la república, es a saber, que non procurará escapar su vida donde al bien público cunpliere morir. E [...] en efecto tanbién lo siguieron las leyes deste reyno, pero quisiéronlo más declarar diziendo que non refuse la muerte por defensión de su ley o por serviçio de su rey e señor natural o por el bien de su tierra e pueblo. E esto aunque suena más extenso en palabras, pero bien paresçe con lo al concordar, ca non guardaría bien la república quien a su ley o a su rey o a su pueblo según su poder non guardase. E dezid *¿quál mayor bien de la república ay que conservaçión de la fee que a todas las cosas preçede e a todo es de anteponer?* (Cartagena 1988: 427, my italics).

During the Catholic Monarchs' war against the Kingdom of Granada the Pope sent his 'bula de cruzada, la qual contenía grandes indulgencias para todos los que la tomasen' (Pulgar 1914: 379). Of crusaders we learn 'han de ir confesados, e comulgados e fecho testamento, e con intención de pelear e vencer a los enemigos en favor de la santa fe cathólica' (Bernáldez 1914: 610). Their deaths would therefore combine elements of the *oradores'* model of the good death with that of the *defensores*.⁴⁵ Yet although the values of the *defensores* differed from those of the *oradores*, particularly with regard to honour, they nonetheless considered themselves Christians. Tensions may be evident between the two systems, but they were not mutually exclusive, even for the knight who died in a battle against opponents other than the infidel. The *caballero* who fought and died for a purely secular cause could combine such a death with elements from the *oradores'* model of the good death. Death in battle was not entirely unexpected and the combatants prior to the commencement of the fighting generally had an opportunity to hear what might be their last mass and receive absolution. Before the battle of Olmedo in 1445 for example, Enrique IV 'se levantó de mañana [...]; el qual, oýda su misa e todos los otros señores en sus tiendas, mandó tocar sus trompetas para que todos

cabalgasen' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 163) and in fiction, 'los caballeros de la epopeya medieval hacen su confesión y reciben la absolución antes de la batalla' (Deyermond 1984: 132). As is apparent from the *Siete Partidas*, it was expected that the *caballero* would have made a will, but legal provision was made so that he could write one even in his final moments. Whether a crusader or not, if he took some time to die of his wounds, as did Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Duque de Cádiz, whose life was ended in 1492 'de achaque de una opilación que se le hizo andando en la guerra contra los Moros' (Bernáldez 1914: 645) he would have had time to receive 'todos los sacramentos' (Bernáldez 1914: 645) and receive all the encouragement and consolation from his friends which the *Ars moriendi* recommend. Don Rodrigo died in the presence of the 'prior e del Vvcarío de San Gerónimo, que lo [...] consolaron hasta la fin' (Bernáldez 1914: 645).

Thus while it may be possible to make a broad distinction between two models of good death which are respectively *orador* and *defensor* it should not be forgotten that their ideals coexisted and could even be synthesised, as in the crusades or 'holy wars' or the warrior orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara. That these two such different varieties of good death, representing such apparently contradictory values, could be reconciled perhaps reflects the accommodation that was reached by *oradores* and *defensores* in many others areas of life, including that of marriage where, according to Duby, 'L'un des modèles [that of the Church and that of the aristocracy] ne fut pas vaincu par l'autre: ils se combinèrent' (1981: 303).

⁴⁵ As Guiance observes, the penitential aspect of the crusaders' behaviour prior to battle was thought to be as, or more, important in gaining the slain a place in heaven, than the actual death in combat (1998: 335-338).

4. Bad deaths

A similar mixture of agreement and disagreement is to be found in the criteria of the *oradores* and *defensores* as to what constituted a bad death. Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* give an indication of their nature. The *Milagros* describe a large number of deaths, which occur in a variety of ways. Furthermore, since the *Milagros* were selected in order to encourage people to live well and show reverence for the Virgin we may suppose that in general each person who dies in them received a death which Berceo considered appropriate: his didactic aims would not have been served had the bad been rewarded and the good punished. In this they differ from the chronicles, whose authors were obliged to relate events which, however much they might attempt to manipulate the facts, were not always amenable to easy explanations of cause and effect. In the second miracle, the *sacristán fornicario* falls into a river and drowns (1971: 54); in the third miracle a dissolute *clérigo* is murdered (1971: 59); in the seventh miracle linkage is made between the *monje lozano*'s sin and the cause of his death, 'murió por sus peccados por fiera ocasión' (1971: 75). The sixth miracle, on the other hand shows that the piety of the *ladrón devoto* prompts the intervention of the Virgin, who saves him from what would otherwise have been an ignominious death as a criminal (the method to be used was hanging and, when this proved ineffective, the slitting of the throat). The deaths that sinful characters receive contrasts significantly with the fates of the more virtuous, who tend to be saved from violent death or die peacefully (see Appendix A). With the caveats that the *defensores* would not have thought a violent death in battle bad and the *oradores* would have considered good the deaths of martyrs, bad deaths can be divided into three basic categories; namely, sudden deaths as a result of an outside agency (including those due to illness, accident or murder), deaths imposed by the judicial system and self-inflicted deaths.

In part, the fear of dying suddenly was no doubt due to the fact that such a death would deny one the opportunity to be cleansed of one's sins by confession and communion and thus the soul would be burdened by its sin. This aspect of violent death is made explicit in the seventh of Berceo's miracles, where we are told that the *monje lozano* 'nin priso Corpus Domini nin fizó confesión' (1971: 75) with the unsurprising result that, 'levaron los diábolos la alma en presón' (1971: 75). But if a sudden death could deprive individuals of the opportunity to repent of their sins, there was also a belief that it was precisely because of the weight of those sins that they were being punished with a sudden death. Ariès states that this belief derived from the feeling that when death arrived suddenly it 'became the absurd instrument of chance, which was sometimes disguised as the wrath of God. This is why the *mors repentina* was regarded as ignominious and shameful' (1981: 10). The Arcipreste de Talavera, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, explaining why different categories of people might suffer, wrote that:

malas personas rehazias, enteras, porfiadas, iniquas, perversas, obstinadas, yertas, duras e de mala calidad, mal biviendo acaban mal, e así van a las infernales penas, tomada ya en este mundo la posesión de penas e tormentos; como contesçió a los egepcianos e a los del diluvio, e a los de Sodoma e Gomorra, e a otros infinidos contesçió e conteçe oy e cada día por sus méritos e mal bevir de cada uno (1979: 268-269).

For such individuals their bad deaths, 'acaban mal', are understood as a direct sign of God's anger and punishment. The combination of sudden death, lack of confession and the implication that this sort of death is related to the wickedness of the individual who suffers it, are present in the author of the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*'s grouping together of three deaths:

todos ellos los tres Alonsos que *se ovieron non lealmente* contra el buen Maestre *ovieron mal cabo de la vida suya*, así el capitán mayor de la *maldad*, Alonso Pérez como Alonso González de Tordesillas, e como esso mismo este Alonso

González de León: *todos morieron muertes supitañas, e sin confesión* (1940: 421, my italics).⁴⁶

That a death could be used as ammunition for claims that God had visited His judgement on a wrongdoer is exemplified in one of the deaths we have already examined, that of Don Pedro Girón, Maestre de Calatrava. What is particularly significant is that although the facts of the case do not entirely fit the model of the sudden, bad death of a bad person, both Valera and Enríquez del Castillo seem to have tried to mould the evidence into this pattern in order to vilify Pedro Girón. The evidence for the Maestre's wickedness is clearly presented by Valera: despite being a 'frayle profeso de la Orden de San Benito' (1914: 39), the Maestre had obtained a dispensation from the Pope to marry Isabel (the future Catholic Monarch) and intended to do so with or without her consent, 'quando de grado no le pluguiese, tomarla por fuerza' (1914: 39). Isabel was allegedly saved as a result of her prayers to God, 'estuvo un día y una noche las rodillas por el suelo, muy devotamente rogando a nuestro Señor que le pluguiese matar a él o a ella, porqueste casamiento no oviese efeto' (Valera 1914: 39) and as a direct result the Maestre was struck down, 'de súbito de la mano de Dios fué ferido de esquinencia de tal manera, que dentro de tres días fué muerto' (Valera 1914: 39). The suddenness here cannot be ascribed to the death (which occurred after three days) and though the death appeared relatively suddenly, it was not so sudden that its victim was denied the possibility of time to prepare for death.⁴⁷ Nonetheless this did not prevent the chronicler attempting to fit this real event into the accepted framework which associated sudden deaths with God's punishment. Enríquez del Castillo's account

⁴⁶ No further details are given concerning the deaths of the two Alonso González but Alonso Pérez died in 1453 after being pushed from a tower on the orders of Álvaro de Luna (1940: 344-357). For the highly partisan chronicler, disloyalty to don Álvaro is wickedness and Alonso Pérez is described as having become 'convertida su mala persona casi de hombre en diablo, e siguiendo las pisadas e los fechos de aquel grand príncipe de los demonios Lucifer' (1940: 295). This being the case, the chronicler's pious conclusion to the account of the three bad deaths seems somewhat insincere, 'segund la religión cristiana lo demanda, dígaesles: perdónelos Dios' (1940: 421).

⁴⁷ Pedro Girón did in fact leave a will, written on 28 April 1466, only days before he died, on 2 May 1466 (Viña Brito, 1989: 494), and this act, as has been discussed above, was one of the features of the *oradores* model of the good death.

goes still further in attempting to add another, distinctive and shameful feature of the sudden death, not only ascribing the Maestre's decease to the will of God, but also implying that the sacraments, if offered, were not received in an appropriate fashion:

no queriendo Dios lo concertado, e no dando lugar a tan grand falsedad, súpitamente le tomó en el camino el mal de la muerte, en tal manera, que dentro de diez días murió, mas con poca devoción, que como cathólico Christiano debía morir (1914: 154).⁴⁸

A sudden death was thus considered a fairly certain a sign of wickedness, since God was thought to choose other, less final, methods of dealing with moderate sinners, presumably because a sudden death would not have given them the opportunity to repent:

permite Nuestro Señor que a las vezes los buenos ayan açote, castigo e perseguimiento [...] que si a las vezes con flaqueza de la carne, instigaçión del diablo o inclinamiento del mundo e sus vanas cosas terrenales, estos tales fallesçieren e cayeren, o algund tanto a Nuestro Señor olvidaren, con la puniçión, açote e castigo se tornen a Dios e fagan enmienda de sus pecados (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 269).

As we have already seen in the cases of the Maestre de Calatrava and the young pretender to the throne, Alfonso, chroniclers could and did manipulate their presentation of the facts of a death in order to make it fit better into the categories of either a good or a bad death. Alfonso's death was even more sudden than the Maestre's yet, by describing the miraculous signs which followed it, Valera transformed it from what might have been considered a bad death into a good one. This was possible because the features of the bad death, such as suddenness, violence or execution also appeared in accounts of the deaths of the martyrs. In the case of the very holy, their gruesome fates, far from being a divine punishment, were seen as a reward, 'Ay otros buenos que Nuestro Señor permite que sean punidos por meresçer más gualardón' (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 269). Such people, 'aunque una vez cada día los tormentasen, e mill en

logar de una muerte reçibiesen, con el amor de Dios con mucha paçiençia todos males sufrirían [...] como fueron los Apóstoles, los discípulos, los mártires' (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 269). These people were clearly exceptionally sinless and therefore their souls were in no danger if they died without receiving the last rites. This is the case of the pilgrims who drown while on the way to the Holy Land in Berceo's twenty-second miracle, concerning 'el naufrago salvado por la Virgen'. The survivors of the shipwreck:

Vidieron palombiellas essir de so la mar,
 más blancas qe las nieves contra'l cielo volar;
 credién qe eran las almas qe querié Dios levar
 al sancto Paraíso, un glorioso logar. [...]

Dicién: «¡Aï, romeos! Vos fuestes venturados,
 qe ya sodes «per ignem et per aquam» passados [...]

Grado al Padre sancto e a sancta María,
 ya vestides la palma de vuestra romería;
 nos somos en tristicia e vos en alegría (Berceo 1971: 179).

The pilgrims' death spares them further tribulations (referred to generically as 'ignem' and 'aquam', fire and water) and the mention of the palm equates them with the martyrs, of whom this was the symbol.⁴⁹ Pilgrims were supposed to cleanse their souls before they began their journeys, as is made clear in the eighth of Berceo's miracles, where the foolish *romero engañado por el diablo* forgets the necessary preparations, 'en logar de vigilia yogó con su amiga. / Non tomó penitencia como la ley prediga' (1971: 81), so death would not pose the sensible pilgrim a spiritual danger but rather could be seen as an extremely positive occurrence.

⁴⁸ Another version of how the Maestre died is given in the *Hechos del condestable don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, which also ascribes the Maestre's death to the will of God, he 'murió, sin seso, que luego en dándole el mal lo perdió' (1940: 313).

⁴⁹ For details of the biblical sources of the images of fire and water, and of the martyrs' palm, see Brian Dutton (Berceo 1971: 183, notes 602(b) & 603(b)). The soul could be represented as a small bird, in this case 'palombiellas'. Sánchez de Vercial provides another example, where a holy man, 'dio el ánima a Dios e todos los monjes que estavan presentes vieron ssalir una paloma de su boca [...]. E es de creer que

This positive view of the death of the holy, wherever and in whatever fashion it occurred, is extended in the *Arte de bien morir* to include the less holy, thus lessening the terrors of the unexpected and supposedly bad death for the majority of people:

la muerte de los santos es muy preciosa en el acatamiento de la diuina magestad, en qualquier manera o tiempo que acaesca. E non solamente la muerte de los santos e justos es preciosa, mas avn de los peccadores quantoquier que ayan seydo malos, si uerdaderamente constrictos y en verdadera fee e vnión de la santa Yglesia mueren. Según aquello que dize Sant Juhan en el *Apocalipsi*: "bien aventurados son los que mueren en el Señor". Njn es mucho de curar njn de dubdar de la muerte de los justos, si algunas vezes los vemos morir subitamente o de alguna muerte que a los honbres mundanales paresca ser mala (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 150).

The need to reassure the reader that, though a death may appear 'mala', he should have no fear for the soul of anyone who was one of 'los justos', indirectly demonstrates how strong the categorisation of death into 'good' and 'bad' was: if all forms and manners of death had been considered equally fitting, there would have been no need to reassure the reader on this point.

4.1. Sudden deaths as a result of an outside agency

As the introduction to the *Arte de bien morir* explains, few of those who died suddenly were thought to be properly prepared spiritually, 'muy pocas vezes alguno se dispone bien quando la muerte le toma súbitamente' (1999: 82). Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the *Arte* allowed for a few exceptions. Mitigating circumstances also seem to have been eagerly sought by those who wished to salvage the reputation of a particular individual who had died in such a fashion. The accidental death of the unfortunate King Juan I, who died as a result of a riding accident in 1390 was described as 'arrebata e mancillada' (López de Ayala 1914b: 171) by the Bishop of Sant Ponce,

el ánima de aquel sancto padre por ende apareció en figura de paloma, porque Dios, que es poderoso, les mostrasse por esta figura de paloma con quanto synpleza de corazón éste le avía servido' (1961: 48).

speaking on behalf of the schismatic Pope Clement VII. The chronicler provides an objective account:

dio el Rey de las espuelas al caballo en que iba, e en medio de la carrera estropezó el caballo, e cayó con el Rey, en manera que le quebró todo por el cuerpo. E los que y estaban fueron a más andar por acorrer al Rey; e quando llegaron do estaba, fallaronle sin espíritu ninguno, e finado, e quebrados algunos miembros de la caída (López de Ayala 1914c: 143).

Given that through his envoy the Pope was addressing the deceased's son, Enrique III, whom he no doubt hoped would continue supporting him against his rival, Boniface IX, Clement presumably felt it wise to emphasise some grounds for consolation rather than dwelling solely on the ignominious and spiritually damaging aspects of the death. His envoy therefore stated:

que él avía confianza en la piedad de Dios, pues la vida del rey Don Juan fue siempre buena, [...] que la su alma sería en buen lugar: demás que el Papa sopiera e fuera informado que un día antes de la rebatada muerte el Rey se confesara con un su confesor, e aquel día que moriera oyera primero misa con muy grand devoción: por las quales cosas él creía que Dios le oviera piedad, e la su alma sería en paz (López de Ayala 1914b: 172).

His might therefore be considered one of those cases, described in the *Arte de bien morir*, where the deceased, though they died suddenly, died in 'vnjón de la santa Yglesia' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 150). Murder victims might also occasionally have had some opportunity to prepare their souls before they died, as in the case of Garcilaso de la Vega, who just happened to have been hearing mass before he was murdered in 1326 (Nader 1979: 68):

estando Garcilaso oyendo misa en el monesterio de Sanct Francisco, et con él todos los caballeros et escuderos que venieran con él de casa del Rey, venieron los más caballeros et escuderos de la villa de Soria armados, et con ellos muy grandes gentes de los pueblos: et entraron a deshora en el monesterio, et dentro en la Iglesia mataron a Garcilaso (*Crónica AXI* 1919: 211).

His son, also named Garcilaso, died on the orders of King Pedro I in 1351 (Nader 1979: 68). López de Ayala, the author of the *Crónica del rey don Pedro*, was biased against

Pedro so the scene is portrayed as a murder rather than an execution for a criminal offence:

el Rey dixo [...] que prendiesen a Garci Laso [...] e dixo estonce Garci Laso al Rey: 'Señor, sea la vuestra merced de me mandar dar un clérigo con quien me confiese.' E dixo luego a Rui Ferrández de Escobar: 'Rui Ferrández amigo, ruego vos que vayades a doña Leonor mi muger, e traedme una carta del Papa de absolución, que ella tiene.' E Rui Ferrández se escusó dello, diciendo, que lo non podía facer. E estonce diéronle un clérigo que fallaron y por aventura: e apartóse Garci Laso a un pequeño portal que estaba en la posada sobre la calle, e allí comenzó a fablar con él de penitencia. [...] E estonce entró el ballestero, e dióle con una porra en la cabeza, e Juan Ferrández Chamorro dióle con una broncha, e le firieron de muchas feridas fasta que morió (1919: 414-415).

In general, however, murders were sudden and did not allow the victim much time to prepare his soul. The Duque de Viseo, murdered by the King of Portugal in 1484, was certainly given no such opportunity:

entrando una noche este duque en su cámara, el Rey, movido de ira fue contra él con un puñal; 'E tú, traidor, dixo él, piensas matarme, e reynar en mi lugar? Por cierto si mi brazo me ayuda, tu corazón no verá ni habrá lo que piensa.' E diciendo esto, dióle dos puñaladas, e luego cayó muerto (Pulgar 1914: 407).

Gómez Manrique refers to this fact in order to console his wife on the death of their son, who had died both confessed and absolved:

Por ser natural deseo,
bien quisieras tú, señora,
que tu hijo, según creo,
fuera duque de Viseo;
mas en la postrera hora
en que su muerte llegó,
renunciaras tu derecho,
porque muriera en su lecho
confesado y satisfecho
como tu hijo murió (1991a: I, 69).

Though bad, a sudden or accidental death, even where there had been no prior preparation, did not lead to the added ignominy of the denial of burial in consecrated ground, with the exception of those who died while taking part in tournaments. Such knights were denied Christian burial by the Council of Clermont in 1130 and the third

Lateran Council in 1179, even though they might have received penance and the *viaticum* before they died. This punishment was imposed to deter knights from participating in this dangerous sport (Barber & Barker 1989: 17). Some Church decrees also threatened excommunication for all those who fought in tournaments, such as the 1245 Council of Lyon which 'prohibited tournaments for three years on pain of excommunication' (Barber & Barker 1989: 140). Deaths occurring in such circumstances may therefore be considered closer to those of the suicide or the heretic than to those so far considered. The penalty regarding burial is given in the *Partidas*:

Torneamientos es una manera de uso de armas que facen los caballeros et los otros homes en algunos lugares, et acaesce a las veces que mueren hi algunos dellos: et porque entendió santa egleſia que nacíen ende muchos peligros et muchos daños, también a los cuerpos como a las almas, defendió que lo non ficiesen: et para esto vedar más firmemente puso por pena a los que hi muriesen entrando en el torneamiento que los non soterrasen en cimiterio con los otros fieles cristianos, maguer se confesasen et recebiesen el cuerpo de Nuestro Señor Iesu Cristo: et esto fizo porque los homes tomasen escarmiento en los que vieses soterrar por los campos et se guardasen de lo facer (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 387; PI, TXIII, Ley X).

The Church's ban on jousting was finally lifted by Pope John XXII in 1316 (Barber & Barker 1989: 40). As far as is known, it had, in any case, rarely been enforced in most of Europe, though in 1175 Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg attempted to prevent one ecclesiastical burial and had to reach a compromise with the family of the dead man (Barber & Barker 1989: 24). In Spain however, as late as 1434 at the *Passo Honroso* held by Suero de Quiñones, the one contestant who was fatally wounded, Asbert de Claramunt, was refused a church burial by the Bishop of Astorga. The Bishop was not alone in his objection to jousting. Alfonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos from 1435-1456 strongly denounced it in his *Doctrinal de los caballeros* (Fallows 1995) and Suero, prior to his appeal to the Bishop had already unsuccessfully approached:

ciertos frailes que allí en el passo estaban, e dezían las oras cada día, para lo levar a enterrar a la iglesia. E luego como fueron venidos les dixo que le cantasen sus responsos que acostunbravan cantar a los muertos, e ellos le dixieron que aquel

home non le podían fazer aucto ninguno que fiel christiano devía haver, por ser muerto en el hávito que moriera (Rodríguez de Lena 1977: 366-367).

The unfortunate Asbert de Claramunt, having been taken to 'una ermita que está en el cabo de la puente de Órbigo, [...] que non era consagrada' (1977: 367) was therefore buried in unhallowed ground, in 'una fuesa en el cabo de la puente en frente de la dicha hermita' (1977: 367). Yet even the possibility of receiving a burial such as Asbert's did not deter *caballeros* from jousting, indeed, the danger to their lives was an incentive to participation in such combats: Suero's nine fellow defenders of the *Passo*, 'con todo puro amor y codicia de honor durable [...] voluntariamente disponían sus personas y vida a todo preligro que en armas venir les pudiese' (Rodríguez de Lena 1977: 76), and Juan de Benavente, eager to share in their honour noted that, 'como el peligro de las armas sea de sí peligroso, e los que en ellas entrasen, ponen a toda aventura de muerte, por honor suyo e de sus parientes ayan tomado esta empresa' (1977: 123). This lasting honour accruing to both the participants and their families from their willing exposure to danger was not denied them if they died and thus Asbert de Claramunt, though refused the rites of the Church, was granted chivalric honours, 'Suero de Quiñones con todos los cavalleros e gentileshomes que allí estavan llebaron muy *honrradamente* al ya nonbrado Asbert de Claramunt' (1977: 367, my italics). The knights then gathered in large numbers round his grave, 'ardiendo muchas antorchas, siendo presentes a lo enterrar *por le honrrar* el ya nonbrado Suero e todos los más de los cavalleros e gentileshomes' (1977: 367, my italics).⁵⁰

That *defensores* were willing to risk a death thought of as bad by the ecclesiastical authorities, and that they did so in the pursuit of honour suggests that the criteria against which they judged a death might differ from those of the Church. This is not to say that the two sets of criteria did not often result in similar conclusions or that

they could not, at times, be used in conjunction with each other. Enrique de Villena, in his *Tratado de la consolación*, sought to console Juan Fernández de Valera for the loss of much of his family, including his wife, daughter, father, two grandparents and two brothers, all of whom perished in the plague which struck Cuenca in 1422. Villena gave as grounds for consolation the fact that, 'pues murieron en su seso e reçibieron los christianales sacramentos, sean en vía de salvación' (1976: 102): in other words, their deaths conformed to the *oradores*' criteria of what constituted a good death. Yet Villena could also comment, 'murieron los sobredichos onradamente' (1976: 32) and honour, though highly prized by the *defensores*, is a concept in conflict with Christian injunctions regarding the need for humility. The *Arte de bien morir*, for example, reminded the dying that, '“Si non fuerdes fechos humildes como un niño, non entrareís en el regno de los cielos”. Pues humíliate e serás ensalçado' (1999: 108).⁵¹ We may therefore suppose that when Villena described some of the alternative, undesirable, types of death Juan Fernández's relatives might have met, he judged them to be so on the basis of both secular and spiritual considerations:

¡Quántos linajes de muertes escaparon con ésta! Pudieran en la mar tenpestuosa periclitarse e beber con la muerte las aguas saladas, devorados de los bestiales peçes, e con amaritut descender al infierno; pudieran perderse en los montes, errabundos en la escuridat de la noche, sepultos en los vientres de las bestias crueles e brutas, non fallándose dellos parte; pudieran ardersen en llamas poderosas, vastantes el lugar do fuesen, e sus çenizas ignotas pisadas quiçá de sus parientes ser; pudieran cometer delitos criminosos e por justiçia deméritos cruçados ser; pudieran sorver poçión venenosa e con angustia e rúgito viçeral terminar sus días; pudieran caer sobre ellos hedifiçios antiguos, [e] conprehesos, dislaminados, quedar non conosçidos; pudiera rayo tenpestuoso emiso de negra nube flaminarlos; pudieran, mirados de matador basilisco, syn remedio fallesçer, o qualquier de morir de los otros modos pasar, e quiçá alguno inaudito que en ellos començara (1976: 42-44).

Drowning, being devoured by beasts, being burned to death and execution for a criminal offence were types of death met by, or almost met by, the more sinful characters in

⁵⁰ The author of the account, Pero Rodríguez de Lena, asks for prayers for the deceased's soul, but makes no mention of any being said while Asbert was being buried, nor of a reburial occurring at a later date.

Berceo's *Milagros*. All of the examples of bad deaths given by Villena are unnatural deaths (not due to a relatively long illness or old age) and many (drowning, being devoured, burning, crushing) include among their horrors the fact that they would deny the possibility of burial to the person who met them. Villena does not ignore spiritual considerations: he too associates a bad death with the torment of the soul which is forced, 'con amaritut descender al infierno'. The loss of the corpse does, however, seem to have been an outcome feared for both secular and spiritual reasons. The Conde de Niebla's troops even preferred the infamy of being accused of rashness and folly. Having been trapped by a rising tide after a raid on Gibraltar they called out to their leader that they would rather turn back and be killed by the infidel than die in the water:

sólo podremos ser redargüidos
de temeraria, inmensa osadía,
mas tal infamia mejor nos sería
que non en las aguas morir sepelidos (Mena 1997: 203).

The sea, 'las aguas' would be their tomb. Many of the deaths mentioned by Villena are explicitly linked to the body going unrecognised or being impossible to bury and the explicit references to the dead having 'sus çenizas ignotas pisadas' and 'quedar non conosçidos' suggest that at least part of the fear of this sort of death lay in the fact that the corpse would be unknown. As will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the bereaved, spiritual benefits could accrue to the deceased from a funeral and from an *orador* point of view the destruction of the corpse might therefore have been thought to lessen the spiritual assistance that could be rendered the soul. From a *defensor* perspective, the destruction of the body perhaps lessened the honour that ought to have been given the deceased. Certainly honour is a consideration mentioned by Villena. His reasoning concerning why a peaceful death should be seen as a source of consolation for the relatives of the deceased concentrates on the externals denied those who died

⁵¹ According to Francisco Gago Jover these statements contain references to Matthew 18.4, Luke 14.11 and Luke 18.14 (*Arte* 1999: 108n).

suddenly, far from home, such as a lack of a tomb and an honourable funeral rather than absence of spiritual assistance, 'Este tal morir fue a ellos liberativo de muerte violenta, de logar ajeno, de orbaçión de sepultura e funeral ynhonramiento; desto librarles Dios, devéys a él tenerle en graçia. Muriendo asý, preçindióse la posibilidat de mayores enojos' (1976: 36). While burial in consecrated ground was considered extremely important by the *oradores*, Villena's emphasis on honour, 'ynhonramiento', suggests that for the *defensores* matters of honour were of considerable importance with regard to the burial of the dead.

The function of the tomb as an affirmation of the honour and status of the deceased perhaps contributed to the appropriation of the practice of multiple burial (one individual choosing to distribute their body parts among a number of burial sites) among the nobility of medieval Europe, though there also appears to have been a spiritual aspect to such choices. In general, 'Christian corpses were placed with feet to the east in anticipation of resurrection; the dead would rise facing their Maker, who was to appear in the east' (Finucane 1981: 43). The fragmentation and dispersal of the corpse presented a theological problem regarding how the corpses would be reassembled prior to resurrection. One solution is depicted in the twelfth-century Byzantine Torcello mosaic in which angels are shown forcing a variety of animals and monsters to regurgitate their prey. Although 'Official teaching soon discarded such grisly fancies, [...] the popular mind clung to them as a theological problem that they could both understand and visualize' (Boase 1972: 37). Saints, of course, had long had their bodies dispersed as relics despite the fact that, 'multiple burial [...] stood in a potentially antagonistic relationship to the logic of the Resurrection' (Binski 1996: 66). Unlike the majority of individuals however, the saint was thought to be 'fully present in any particular bit of his or her body' (Binski 1996: 66) and saints' relics might be

distributed among a number of sites, in order to bring the benefits of their presence to the largest possible number of the faithful. The nobility and royalty, in choosing to divide their own bodies were perhaps seeking to appropriate for their own benefit some of the power and prestige surrounding the saints:

The rituals which blossomed around saints may have influenced royal cults. It has been suggested that Corpus Christi processions in the later Middle Ages made some impact on the form of royal funerals. Perhaps there were further borrowings: uncorrupted saintly bodies and royal effigies which never decayed; multiple burial sites for the 'relics' of kings and the nobility especially from the twelfth century. In addition, it is probably more than coincidental that thaumaturgy - miracle-working - became a royal attribute in the later Middle Ages. All such developments point toward the sanctification of kingship, the absorption of ecclesiastical ideals and powers by an increasingly dominant secular force (Finucane 1981: 59).

Multiple burial was clearly an attractive prospect, not just for kings but also for certain members of the aristocracy, being 'a means of asserting spiritual and political power' (Binski 1996: 67) and many illustrious medieval lay-people, including Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290), and Charles V of France (d. 1380) chose to distribute their body-parts among a number of religious institutions (Binski 1996: 63-64). It should be noted, however, that such practices were not common in Castile. Alfonso X (d. 1284) ordered that his heart should be buried in Jerusalem and his entrails at either Santa María de Murcia or the church of Santa María in Seville but Elizabeth A. R. Brown observes that these 'dispositions are strikingly unusual in their Castilian context', adding that, 'Alfonso's close ties with England, France and the Empire suggest the origins of the practices that he followed in regulating the treatment of his body after death' (1981: 235). According to Menjot, Alfonso's wishes are unique among medieval Castilian kings, and though it is possible certain Castilian kings were eviscerated, it is certainly not a practice which has left any record:

Aucun autre souverain castillan n'envisagea la division de son corps en morceaux – la reine Isabelle l'interdit formellement – et aucun ne choisit une sépulture séparée pour ses entrailles et son cœur. Aucun chroniqueur ne signale

l'éviscération ou la 'décoction' d'un roi et ne signale l'endroit où ses viscères ont été ensevelies. Cela montre que si des monarques ont été eviscérés, ce que l'interdiction de la reine Isabelle pourrait laisser supposer, seul leur corps a été traité avec honneur (1988: 130).

The cases of Alfonso X's half-sister, Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I of England, and his great-aunt, Blanche of Castile (d. 1252), mother of Louis IX of France, both of whose corpses were distributed among multiple burial sites, seem to have owed much to their devotion to and imitation of St Edmund of Pontigny (d. 1240), who had himself instructed that his heart be buried at a different location from the remainder of his corpse (Brown 1981: 228-231). The rationale behind the choice to have one's corpse dismembered were therefore complex and it is difficult to determine whether spiritual or political considerations were foremost in the minds of the lay nobility as they made this choice.

Though dismemberment in order to secure multiple burial may have been considered honourable, the partitioning of the corpse for public display, or even its total destruction, as a consequence of judicial processes was an important, and dishonouring part, of the punishment of the felon and it is to deaths imposed by the courts that we now turn.

4.2. Deaths imposed by the judicial system

The status of the law in medieval society ensured that criminals were thought to be punished not only by its secular enforcers but also both directly and indirectly by God. According to Alfonso X, justice in the secular sphere derived from the king but only because God had decreed that temporal justice should be ensured by monarchs, 'la justicia [...] quiso que se ficiese en la tierra por mano de los emperadores et de los

reyes' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 2; PII).⁵² Thus breaking the law signified not only placing oneself outside the norms of society, but also incurring the displeasure of God.

This is made very clear in the first law of the first *Partida*:

Estas leyes de todo este libro son establecimientos cómo los homes sepan creer et guardar la fe de nuestro señor Iesu Cristo complidamente así como ella es; et otrosí de cómo sepan vevir los unos con los otros bien et ordenadamente segunt el placer de Dios; et otrosí segunt conviene a la vida deste mundo, veviendo en derecho et en justicia (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 11-12; PI, TI, Ley I).

From a purely ecclesiastical perspective the *Catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar* of 1325 explains why crimes are also mortal sins:

E deve saber el clérigo que son y pecados mortales e son y pecados criminales. Criminales son aquellos que trahen deposición o descabeçamiento o desterramiento o encarçeramiento. Mortales son que non trahen estos pecados consigo; pero dezimos que todo pecado criminal es mortal, mas non todo mortal es criminal; pero largamente dize crimen por todo pecado (Martín & Linage Conde 1987: 248).

The *Siete Partidas* also mixes secular and spiritual consequences in its explanation of the term mortal sin. It has that name 'por dos razones: la una porque mata en este mundo al cuerpo del home o de la muger tolliendol buena fama; la otra porque faz morir muerte doblada después en cuerpo et en alma' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 122; PI, TIV, Ley LXV). Whereas the *Catecismo* described the spiritual consequences of what would be described by the secular system as a crime, the *Partidas* highlight the effects of sin in this world, namely the loss of reputation, 'buena fama'.

Breaking the law might therefore lead to both physical and spiritual death and, though certain methods of execution were seen as more shameful than others, both *defensores* and *oradores* agreed that all such deaths were bad. The privileges of the *fijosdalgo* included preferential treatment under the law. They were to be spared the most dishonourable deaths:

⁵² Acceptance of the authority of temporal rulers was also encouraged by Jesus's words in Matthew 22.21, Mark 12.17 and Luke 20.25 concerning the payment of taxes imposed by Caesar.

Porque maguer el fidalgo o otro home que fuese honrado por su esciencia o por otra bondad que hobiese en él, ficiese cosa por que debiese morir, *non lo deben matar tan aviltadamente como a los otros*, así como arrastrándolo, o enforcándolo, o quemándolo o echándolo a bestias bravas; mas débenlo mandar matar en otra manera, faciéndolo sangrar, o afogar (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 712; PVII, TXXXI, Ley VIII, *my italics*).⁵³

A variety of forms of execution were inflicted on some rebels who had held the fortress of Utrera against the Catholic Monarchs in 1477, 'de ellos degollaron, y de ellos enforcaron, y [...] a otros llevaron a Sevilla encarretados, e ficiéron justicia de ellos, e los ficiéron quartos' (Bernáldez 1914: 591). All of them are explicitly described as bad deaths, 'murieron mala muerte' (Bernáldez 1914: 591).

As a consequence of his former power and the suddenness of his fall from favour, the death of Álvaro de Luna in 1453 is perhaps one of the most dramatic of fifteenth-century Castile. Luna, Condestable de Castilla and erstwhile favourite of Juan II was 'degollado' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 683), dying in a public square in Valladolid when his executioner 'pasó el puñal por su garganta, e cortóle la cabeza, e púsola en el garavato' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 683).⁵⁴ The severed remains were then placed on display:

estuvo la cabeza allí nueve días, y el cuerpo tres días; e puso un bacín de plata a la cabecera donde el Maestre estaba degollado, para que allí echasen el dinero los que quisiesen dar limosna para con que le enterrasen (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 683).

⁵³ The sixteenth-century author of the *Celestina comentada* discussed the beheading in *Celestina* of Sempronio and Pármeneo, who 'received punishment befitting those of a noble household' (Corfis 1995: 78), in the light of this law. It should be noted, however, that Alfonso X's guidelines were not always followed in practice. For example, in 1434 two 'Caballeros naturales de Sevilla [...] que hicieron ligas e monipodios' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 515) against the King were 'arrastrados y hechos quartos' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 515).

⁵⁴ To 'degollar' is defined by Covarrubias Horozco in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, written c. 1606-1610 (1998: viii) as 'Apartar la cabeça del cuerpo, cortándola por el cuello' (1998: 447) and he added that 'En Castilla condenan a degollar al noble' (1998: 447). This method of execution should not be confused with beheading of the sort using a block and axe or sword, since the cut began at the throat rather than the neck, and was effected using a knife.

Given Luna's former power and wealth, the implication of the collection of alms was humiliating and underlined how far he had fallen. That it was intended as a symbolic gesture is suggested by the fact that though the body was at first buried outside the town thanks to the charity of the Frailes de la Misericordia, it did not remain there for long:

E pasados los tres días, vinieron todos los Frayles de la Misericordia, e tomaron su cuerpo en unas andas, e lleváronlo a enterrar a una hermita fuera de la villa, que dicen Sant Andrés, donde se suelen enterrar todos los malhechores; y dende a pocos días fue sacado de allí, y llevado a enterrar al Monesterio de San Francisco, que es dentro en la villa. E pasado asaz tiempo, fue traído el cuerpo con su cabeza a una muy sumptuosa capilla qué'l había mandado hacer en la Iglesia mayor de la cibdad de Toledo (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 683).

In addition to the passage of time, permission to inter Álvaro de Luna's corpse in Toledo was conceded only after a certain degree of lobbying. According to the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* Gonzalo Chacón, who had served Don Álvaro faithfully in his lifetime, was instrumental in securing permission to move the corpse to Toledo. The Infantes Alfonso and Isabel had been placed in his care and:

como acaesciese que fuese con aquellos infantes a Toledo, tobo manera de yr con ellos a ver vna mucho notable capilla que el bienaventurado Maestre abía fundado a muy grand costa en la iglesia catedral de Toledo. De la qual vista se siguió, que de vna interçesión en otra, soliciéndolo aquel caballero, finalmente, a instancia de vn religioso prior del monesterio que se dize de las Cuebas de Sevilla, el qual se llama fray Fernando de Torres, el cuerpo del bienaventurado Maestre fue llevado con mucho honor e solenidad a aquella capilla que así avía fundado (1940: 437).⁵⁵

There would appear to be no other reason for alms to have been collected and for the Maestre to have been buried outside the town, than a desire on the part of the authorities to inflict shame on him and his family, since there was clearly space for him in the Monasterio de San Francisco. For their part, his family was no doubt hoping to re-establish his and their good name by placing him in that 'sumptuosa capilla', whose

⁵⁵ In 1484 don Álvaro's wife, Juana Pimentel, and his daughter, María de Luna, were responsible for endowing the chapel and, after her mother's death in 1488, María commissioned the altar-piece and the sculptures for the tombs of her parents (for details and illustrations see Cortés Arrese [1999: 173-180]).

opulence, so different from the simple graves of the *malhechores*, marked his status as a distinguished member of the nobility.

Although Álvaro de Luna's status preserved him from having one of the most dishonouring deaths possible, since one of the types of death reserved for the non-nobles was not inflicted on him, it was nonetheless extremely shameful and Pérez de Guzmán described it as a 'muerte tan penosa, e tan aviltada y vergonzosa' (1914a: 683). The form of capital punishment meted out to Juan de Cañamas who attempted to assassinate King Fernando in 1492 was, however, infinitely more dishonourable. He was:

condenado por la justicia de la ciudad a muy cruelísima muerte; fue puesto en un carro y traído por toda la ciudad, y primeramente le cortaron la mano con que le dio al Rey, y luego con tenazas de hierro ardiendo le sacaron una teta, y después le sacaron un ojo, y después le cortaron la otra mano, y luego le sacaron el otro ojo, y luego la otra teta, y luego las narices, y todo el cuerpo le abocadaron los herreros con tenazas ardiendo, e fuéronle cortando los pies, y después que todos los miembros le fueron cortados, sacáronle el corazón por las espaldas y echáronlo fuera de la ciudad, lo apedrearón, e lo quemaron en fuego e aventaron la ceniza al viento (Bernáldez 1914: 656).

The burning of the remains, while it inflicted no physical pain on the criminal, was a final indignity which denied him Christian burial. Given that attempting to murder the monarch, God's viceroy on earth in the secular sphere, was one of the most heinous crimes conceivable at the time, it was thought appropriate for the punishment to be proportionately worse than that given to other criminals and it seems that it was made as degrading and painful as possible:

By the later Middle Ages treason was considered in some circles to be a crime worse than any other. [...] As the theory and practice of kingship developed in the later medieval period crimes against the highest authority called for correspondingly harsher punishments. Treason deserved the mightiest torments and most horrible deaths that could be devised (Finucane 1981: 50).

Historical practice seems to have informed literature, 'Many of the punishments singled out by Dante had worldly counterparts, like those dragged to Hell tied to the tail of an animal (*Purgatorio* 24), a standard Florentine punishment for treachery' (Binski 1996: 177). Similarly, Juan de Flores's portrayal of the practices leading up to the execution of Mirabella in *Grisel y Mirabella* includes her being conveyed publicly in 'vn carro' (1974: 358), a practice included in the account of the treatment of Cañamas, who 'fue puesto en un carro y traído por toda la ciudad' (Bernáldez 1914: 656).⁵⁶ The criminal might also be accompanied by ecclesiastics, who would urge him to die as well as possible. In Mirabella's case there are 'quatro obispos quel cargo de su alma tomauan' (Flores 1974: 358), while when Álvaro de Luna was being taken to be executed in Valladolid, 'los frayles iban juntos con él, esforzándole que muriese con Dios' (Perez de Guzmán 1914a: 683). The form of punishment meted out to traitors such as Cañamas may be the basis for the description of the death given to Torrellas in Flores's *Grisel y Mirabella* by the ladies of the court, who hold him responsible for the death of Mirabella, heir to the throne.⁵⁷ Torrellas too is tortured with burning tongs, 'tenazas ardiendo' (Flores 1974: 369). The use of tongs seems particularly appropriate since women often used the smaller versions to beautify themselves. Though such a function might seem fairly benign, Calisto describes the process as though here too they are being used as implements of torture. The ladies who are envious of Melibea's beauty, 'Consumen sus vidas, comen sus carnes con embidia, *danles siempre crudos martirios* [...]. Dellas, pelan sus cejas con *tenazicas*' (Rojas 1998: 190, my italics). Later in *Celestina* we find that these smaller tweezers, intended for cosmetic use, have actually been employed by Claudina on a corpse, 'Siete dientes quitó a un ahorcado con

⁵⁶ Both *Grisel* and Flores's *Grimalte y Gradissa* were first printed in 1495 (Whinnom 1974: 14). I have been unable to consult Joseph J. Gwara's edition of *Grisel*.

⁵⁷ My thanks to Dr Louise M. Haywood for suggesting that the manner of Torrellas's death is similar to that of Cañamas.

unas tenazicas de pelar cejas' (1998: 196).⁵⁸ Dismemberment is also inflicted on Torrellas, though in his case the enthusiasm of his female torturers ensured that this was done without the usual implements, 'con vnyas y dientes rauiosamente le despedecaron' (1974: 369). When only Torrellas's bones remained these were burned and his ashes were then dispersed, 'después que no dexaron ninguna carne en los huessos: fueron quemados y de su seniza guardando cadaqual vna buxeta' (1974: 370), though unusually the ashes were distributed among his torturers as macabre relics rather than scattered to the winds. Vicenta Blay Manzanera (1996: 147-148) has highlighted the similarities between the torture described in *Decameron* V, 8, the punishments inflicted with burning pincers on one of the souls in Hell in *Triste deleytación*, the pincers used on Torrellas in *Grisel*, the dream at the end of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* and the readiness of Melibea in *Celestina* to have her heart extracted in order to assuage her pain. While I do not wish to deny that the earlier of these passages may have influenced the later, the actual sight of the extraction of body parts with pincers and the subsequent burning of the body as part of the judicial process may well have made an impression on authors' minds. With regard to authors' transferral of methods of judicial punishments into their portrayals of Hell, it seems reasonable to suppose that, given the association between divine and earthly justice, the punishments given on Earth were also deemed suitable for use in the portrayal of divine justice. The punishment for treason, given its particularly gruesome nature and the nature of the crime committed, was no doubt seen as particularly suitable for those individuals who, by choosing evil, had betrayed God.

The generally applicable forms of execution according to the *Siete Partidas* were as follows: 'puede seer dada al que la meresciere cortandol la cabeza con espada o con

⁵⁸ In *Triste deleytación*, 'una obra narrativa de autor anónimo, fechada 1458' (*Triste* 1983: xi) a woman is tortured by her former lover, 'el corazón le saqué / con spantables de fuego / tenazas, que sin sosiego /

cuchillo, et non con segur nin con foz de segar: otrosi puédenlo enforcar, o quemar o echarlo a las bestias bravas que lo maten' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 711; PVII, TXXXI Ley VI). Being killed by wild animals was neither a pleasant nor a dignified way to die, and someone who carried out a murder using poison, 'debe morir deshonoradamente, echándolo a leones, o a canes o a otras bestias que lo maten' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 569; PVII, TVIII, Ley VII). Certain methods were prohibited, 'los judgadores non deben mandar apedrear a ningunt home, nin crucificarle nin despeñarlo de peña, nin de torre, nin de puente nin de otro lugar' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 711; PVII, TXXXI Ley VI). Christ's death on the cross was considered to have emphasised the magnitude of his sacrifice and humility, 'se dexó poner en la cruz muy deshonoradamente et morir en ella' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 127; PI, TIV, Ley LXVIII). The poem by San Pedro concerning the *Siete angustias*, which is contained in *Arnalte y Lucenda*, also contains a reference to the dishonourable nature of his death, speaking of 'la deshonra grave y fuerte / de la pasión de su muerte' (1973: 153). Obviously Jesus's nature made his death a glorious death rather than a bad one, but this was an exception to the rule. Although the laws quoted above prohibited crucifixion and stoning, stoning is given elsewhere as a suitable punishment for a *moro* who has sex with a Christian woman (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 681; PVII, TXXV, Ley X). In a chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs, some Jews who made false allegations of heresy against *conversos*, 'fueron en Toledo apedreados por justicia' (Pulgar 1914: 478). It seems therefore that particularly dishonourable forms of execution may have been reserved for infidels.

In addition to the selection of a type of death to fit the social status of the criminal, there was also 'the secular legal idea of the *contrapasso*, wherein the punishment was seen to fit the crime' (Binski 1996: 177). The *Siete Partidas* decreed

quemando lo consumió' (1983: 145).

that if an 'escribano público de algunt concejo ficiere carta falsa, córtente la mano con que la escribió' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 563; PVII, TVII, Ley VI) and that, 'qualquier home que ficiere falsa moneda de oro, o de plata o de otro metal qualquier, que sea quemado por ello de manera que muera' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 565; PVII, TVII, Ley IX). The latter had presumably often melted down metal and his punishment was to be exposed to the flames himself. People who murdered close family members were to be 'azotado ante todos públicamente, et desí que lo metan en un saco de cuero, et que encierren con él un can, et un gallo, et una coluebra et un ximio: et después [...] échenlo en la mar o en el río' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 571; PVII, TVIII, Ley XII).⁵⁹ The animals had symbolic meaning: the ape 'denoted the inhumanity of a crime' (Rowland 1973: 8), the dog and the viper represented the 'deadly sin of envy' (Rowland 1973: 61, 158) and the cockerel was associated with parricide:

el hijo mata al padre sobre cuál de los dos subirá la gallina, aunque sea la que engendró su güevo, de donde vino que entre otros animales que echan en el odre, o cuba, del parricida, uno dellos es el gallo (Covarrubias Horozco 1998: 624).

Criminals condemned to death were also penalised by not being permitted to make a will, 'Judgado seyendo algunt home a muerte por yerro que hobiese fecho, pues que tal sentencia fuese dada contra él, non podrie facer testamento' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 367; PVI, TI, Ley XV). Prior to death criminals might be denied the *viaticum* and after it their status could affect their burial location. Alfonso X stated that they should be given both the benefit of communion and Christian burial:

si acaesciese que algunt ladrón o malfechor sea preso para facer iusticia dél, que si se confesare, quel deben soterrar en el cimiterio de alguna eglesia, maguer sea ajusticiado, et débenle dar comunión si la demandare: eso mismo deben facer aunque se non confiese si él se quiso confesar et non hobo con quien; esto se debe entender si mostró señales ante que finase que había voluntad de lo facer et que non finó por él (1972: I, 386; PI, TXIII, Ley VII)

⁵⁹ For evidence of the punishment taking place in 1612 see McKendrick (1974: 36). I have not come across any similar evidence in the sources I have examined, but this may be because those which document historical events, namely the chronicles, deal in detail with the affairs of only a very small minority of the population.

but the very fact that he felt the need to mention it suggests that there was some doubt about the matter. Even as late as the sixteenth century:

condemned prisoners in Spain were routinely denied this sacrament [the *viaticum*] before being executed, even if they had confessed. [...] Only after Pope Pius V's nuncio in Spain instructed King Philip II to discontinue this abuse did it gradually begin to disappear in the latter part of the sixteenth century (Eire 1995: 31).

'Robadores' are mentioned specifically as being liable to have funeral rites withheld if they or their families did not return the stolen goods, although they could still be buried in consecrated ground:

si en su sanidat non se quisiesen confesar et facer emienda de los males que fecieron, que maguer se confiesen a su muerte, sinon podiesen dar seguridad para emendar lo que hobiesen robado que non sean a su enterramiento los clérigos; pero non les tollió que los non soterrasen en los cementerios: mas si sus parientes o sus amigos ficiesen emienda del robo que hobiesen fecho, non deben los clérigos dexar de soterrallos (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 388; PI, TXIII, Ley X).

Ariès observes that:

In principle [...] the bodies of criminals could be buried in holy ground. The Church allowed it, because God does not punish a man twice for the same reason; a man who was executed had paid for his crime. But the Church's instructions were not carried out until the period of the mendicant friars and the religious brotherhoods' (1981: 44).⁶⁰

There is evidence, however, that this more compassionate attitude towards the corpse of the condemned criminal was not always adopted. Eire, writing about the sixteenth century notes that, 'The denial of a proper Christian burial was normally reserved for excommunicates, heretics, and hardened criminals' (1995: 21) and adds that, 'the Council of Madrid in 1473 forbade church burials to all thieves and those who died in

⁶⁰ Ariès is presumably referring here to the fourteenth century, as when he describes the procedures regarding the *viaticum*, 'The death of condemned prisoners was shameful by definition. Until the fourteenth century, they were denied even religious reconciliation: they were damned in the next world as well as in this one. The mendicant friars, with the support of the papacy, succeeded in obtaining from the temporal powers the right to stay with prisoners about to be executed; it was always one of them who accompanied the condemned man to the scaffold' (1981: 12). The practice of refusing to grant the sacraments to condemned criminals was condemned by the Council of Vienne in 1322 (Huizinga 1924: 15). Nonetheless it was not until 1397 that a French royal decree ordered that they should receive

duels and also ordered that the corpses of known thieves already buried in consecrated ground be unceremoniously exhumed and discarded' (1995: 21n). When they were buried, it might be in separate cemeteries. As we have already seen, the account of Álvaro de Luna's execution mentioned just such a cemetery, 'donde se suelen enterrar todos los malhechores' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 683).

The *Partidas* decreed that the bodies of criminals should be handed over to family or others who asked for them, 'si los pidieren sus parientes o homes, religiosos o otros qualesquier débengelos otorgar porque los sotierren' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 714; PVII, TXXXI, Ley XI), but those unclaimed might have had to rely on the charity of groups such as the Frailes de la Misericordia. In addition, their graves had a lower status than those of law-abiding people. The respect with which the burial places of the dead were generally supposed to be treated derived from the fact that such places were seen as religious (though not sacred), 'Religioso logar decimos que es aquel do es soterrado algunt home' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 715; PIII, TXXVIII, Ley XIV).⁶¹ This did not apply to the graves of criminals, since an exception to the normal religious status was made if:

aquel que soterrasen hi fuese home a quien hobiesen justiciado por algunt malfecho, o si fuese desterrado a aquel logar do yoguiese et lo hobiesen hi soterrado sin mandamiento del rey, o si fuese probado que hobiese fecho trayción contra su señor o contra la tierra onde fuese natural (1972: II, 715; PIII, TXXVIII, Ley XIV).

As already discussed, crimes were considered sins, and sins might be crimes. We must therefore consider the fates of those not tried, sentenced and executed by the secular powers, but those tried in ecclesiastical courts and then passed from the

confession and even after this, 'Etienne Ponchier, bishop of Paris, had to renew the decree of 1311 in 1500 (Huizinga 1924: 16).

⁶¹ Churches and their contents were considered sacred (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 714; PIII, TXXVIII, Ley XII) while town walls were thought to be 'santas cosas' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 715; PIII, TXXVIII, Ley XV). The status of graves appears to have been between the 'sagrado' and the 'santa'.

jurisdiction of the Inquisition or Church to that of the State. The Inquisition was established in Castile in 1478, but though fearsome in its tenacity, persistence and pervasiveness, it should not be thought that heresy went unpunished prior to its inception. The *Siete Partidas* included heresy among those offences which could lead to the ecclesiastical courts, 'Todo home que fuese acusado de heregía [...]: todos estos pleitos sobredichos que nacen destos pecados que los homes facen se deben juzgar et librar por juicio de santa egleſia' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 293; PI, TVI, Ley LVIII). Degrees of heresy had been established and the punishment varied accordingly:

si se quisieren tornar a la fe et creerla después que fueren reconciliados, débenlos perdonar. Et si por aventura non se quisieren quitar de su porfía, débenlos judgar por hereges et darlos después a los jueces seglares: et ellos débenles dar pena en esta manera; que si fuere el herege predicador, a que dicen consolado, débenlo quemar en el fuego, de manera que muera en él. Esa misma pena decimos que deben haber los descreídos [...], que non creen haber gualardón nin pena en el otro siglo. Et si non fuere predicador, mas creyente, que vaya et esté con aquellos que ficieren el sacrificio a la sazón que lo ficieren, et que oya cutidianamente quando pudiere la predicación dellos, mandamos que muera por ello esa misma muerte, porque se da a entender que es herege acabado, pues que cree et va al sacrificio que facen. Et si fuere creyente de la creencia dellos, mas non lo metiere en obra yendo al sacrificio dellos, mandamos que sea echado de todo nuestro señorío para siempre, o metido en cárcel fasta que se repienta et se torne a la fe. [...] Et si por aventura non fuese creyente nin fuese al sacrificio dellos, así como sobredicho es, mas fuese a aprender et oír doctrina et lición dellos, mandamos que peche diez libras de oro a la cámara del rey: et si non hobiere de que lo pechar, dénle cincuenta azotes públicamente (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 682-683; PVII, TXXVI, Ley II).

The handing over of the convicted heretics 'a los jueces seglares' was due to the fact that in these cases 'se debe vedar et escarmentar cruamente, lo que ellos [the ecclesiastical authorities] non podrían facer porque el su poderío es espiritual, que es todo lleno de piedat et de mercet' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 2; PII). As outlined above, burning seems to have been the most common death sentence for heretics. In the reign of Isabel and Fernando, *conversos* who refused to recant, 'eran condenados por hereges e apóstatas, e remitidos a la justicia seglar. Destos fueron quemados en diversas veces y en algunas cibdades e villas, fasta dos mil homes e mugeres' (Pulgar 1914: 332). The

flames used on the bodies of heretics, 'signified the purification of the soul, and the bursting into the temporal world of the ghastly retributive power of the afterlife' (Binski 1996: 11). The burning of the body could be considered beneficial to the soul of a repentant heretic since it was thought that suffering in this life could lessen the amount due in the next. For those who had refused to recant, the flames which consumed their bodies prefigured the eternal torments of Hell that awaited them, 'the destruction of the body was a symbol of the destruction of the soul and of the chance for resurrection' (Finucane 1981: 58).⁶²

Punishment of heretics was not limited to the living. Even deceased heretics could be placed on trial and have their bones removed from cemeteries:

se facía inquisición, si los que eran muertos dentro de cierto tiempo habían judayzado; e porque se falló algunos en su vida haber incurrido en este pecado de heregía e apostasía, fueron fechos procesos contra ellos por vía jurídica, e fueron condenados e sacados sus huesos de las sepulturas, e quemados públicamente (Pulgar 1914: 332).

Such post-mortem trials of heretics had been mentioned by the *Partidas* (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 523; PVII, TI, VII). Those dead who were thought certain to have gone to Hell were not permitted burial in hallowed ground, since 'non sería guisado quel diesen sepultura entre los otros fieles cristianos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 387; PI, TXIII, Ley IX). The extent to which the corpses of heretics were seen as a contaminant is evidenced by the fact that they were grouped along with 'judíos et moros [...] et

⁶² More pragmatic considerations could also be involved, 'burning was appropriate in some cases since total destruction left nothing for misguided followers to venerate' (Finucane 1981: 58). Burning was the punishment for other crimes: when Alfonso XI (1312-50) reached his majority he decided to punish the people of Segovia for a number of crimes they had committed and some of them were burned because they had set alight a church where some people were sheltering, 'et a otros quemaron por el fuego que posieron en la Iglesia, de que quemaron la torre: dando a cada uno dellos la pena según lo que fecieron' (*Crónica AXI* 1919: 204). In this case the punishment was presumably chosen to fit the crime. Gonzalo Martínez, who was found guilty of treason against Alfonso XI, was captured and Alfonso Ferrández Coronel was ordered to carry out the punishment, 'fizolo degollar et quemar por traydor' (*Crónica AXI* 1919: 305). As we have already seen, the bones of Juan de Cañamas who attempted to murder King Fernando 'el Católico' were burned, but in his case the act of treason had been combined with acting on diabolic suggestion, 'confesó, que el diablo le decía cada día a las orejas, "mata a este Rey, y tú serás Rey, que este te tiene lo tuyo por fuerza"' (Bernáldez 1914: 656).

todos los otros que no son de nuestra ley' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 386; PI, TXIII, Ley VIII) in being barred from burial in Christian cemeteries and a similar treatment was accorded the excommunicated, 'quando algunt descomulgado soterrasen en el cementerio, desde lo sopieren débenlo sacar ende et reconciliar el cementerio con agua bendita' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 371; PI, TX, Ley XX).⁶³

4.3. Self-inflicted deaths

While unrepented heresy was thought to result in damnation and its punishment might lead to the destruction of the body, the act of suicide combined in one moment the loss of body and soul. In the *Summa theologiae* St Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) based his condemnation of suicide on three points:

First, because everything naturally loves itself [...]. Wherefore suicide is contrary to the inclination of nature, and to charity whereby every man should love himself. Hence suicide is always a mortal sin, as being contrary to the natural law and to charity. Secondly, because every part, as such, belongs to the whole. Now every man is part of the community, and so, as such, he belongs to the community. Hence by killing himself he injures the community [...]. Thirdly, because life is God's gift to man, and is subject to His power, Who kills and makes to live. Hence whoever takes his own life, sins against God [...]. For it belongs to God alone to pronounce sentence of death and life, according to Dt. 32:39, 'I will kill and I will make to live'. (2000: IIaIIae, 64.5).

This third point relates to the fact, already discussed above, that the soul was considered to have been infused by God into the body and it was He who decided when it should be removed. In the *Ars moriendi* the allusion to suicide is somewhat more discreet, but it is nonetheless present, and associated with despair, the second temptation faced by

⁶³ That power politics might oblige priests to permit such a body into the graveyard is suggested by the fact that the *Partidas* give two possibilities as to how it could have been buried in the first place, namely ignorance on the part of those who buried it or 'faciéndolo hi soterrar por fuerza algunt home poderoso' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 386; PI, TXIII, Ley VIII). Another possibility is suggested in one of Sánchez de Vercial's *exempla*, which states that, 'El que muere sin penitencia en pecado / non deve en la iglesia ser sepultado' (1961: 272). In it a bishop agrees to the church burial of a wicked man, 'por precio que le dieron' (1961: 272).

Moriens.⁶⁴ The work advises that there is no need for despair since true repentance will almost always obtain forgiveness and hence salvation:

njnguno [deue] desesperar, avnque él solo aya cometido los peccados del mundo. E si verdaderamente se arrepiente, sin njnguna dubda abrá saluación. E avn si omne fuese çierto que avía de ser dapnado, por esso non debía desesperar. Ca en la desesperación non es otro provecho, si non que por ella es muy gravemente [Dios] offendido, e los otros pecados se fazen más graves, e la pena eternal es ahumentada (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 157).

Pedro Carrillo de Huete, *halconero mayor* to Juan II, writing his will in 1446, some time before his death, had clearly thought about death in a manner which would have gained the approval of the authors of the *Ars moriendi*. He wrote 'conociendo gravemente esta vida aver pecado contra Nuestro Señor y contra sus mandamientos, pero no desesperando de la grande e inmensa misericordia de Dios, mas teniendo en mi corazón esperanza y miedo' (Torres Fontes 1987: 447). He thus struck the right balance between despair at his sins and over-confidence in God's mercy. The example given by the angel of someone who succumbed to despair is Judas, who committed suicide, 'como dize Sant Augustín: "Más pecó Judas en desesperar que los judíos en crucificar a Ihesu Cristo"' (*Arte* 1999: 97).⁶⁵ In the *Partidas* suicides are described as 'desesperados', though this term is also used to describe those who, through despair, kill others and not themselves (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 686; PVII, TXXVII, Ley I). Writing over three hundred years later, Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* also described suicides by reference to despair, and

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the sin of despair, including its close association with suicide, see Murray (2000: 369-395).

⁶⁵ Ariès suggests that the connection between despair and suicide is also made in the illustration of the temptation to despair, 'At his [*Moriens*'s] bedside a demon imitates him, striking himself with a dagger and saying, "You committed suicide" (1981: 130). Mary Catharine O'Connor, however, identifies the word 'Occidisti' as a reference to 'the victim of a stab wound' (1966: 117) also depicted in the illustration, and Francisco Gago Jover similarly describes 'Un diablo, con lo que parece una daga en la mano y a cuyos pies se encuentra un hombre con una herida en el pecho, le acusa de asesinato' (*Arte* 1999: 49; two variants of the illustration are given on pages 56-57). According to this latter interpretation, which seems better founded than Ariès's, the devils, who are engaged in reminding *Moriens* of a number of his sins, include among them the act of murder.

the punishments he lists include prohibitions regarding the burial of suicides as well as the confiscation of their goods. He defines 'desesperar' as:

Perder la esperanza. Desesperarse es matarse de qualquiera manera por despecho; pecado contra el Espíritu Santo. No se les da a los tales sepultura, queda su memoria infamada y sus bienes confiscados y, lo peor de todo, es que van a hazer compañía a Judas (1998: 458).⁶⁶

Though the *Siete Partidas* do not provide a basis for the confiscation of the suicide's goods, both the *Tesoro* and the *Partidas* are unanimous in condemning suicide on theological grounds. The latter make it clear that suicides are considered to have died in a state of mortal sin, 'Desesperanza es pecado que Dios nunca perdona a los que en ella caen' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 685; PVII, TXXVII), and are certain to remain eternally distanced from God, 'nunca a Él puede[n] llegar' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 685; PVII, TXXVII). Though the *Partidas* state that, 'los [...] desesperados que se matan a sí mismos [...] non deben haber pena ninguna' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 686; PVII, TXXVII, Ley II), we cannot assume that there would be no consequences at all for the suicide (such as those pertaining to burial location) but rather that Alfonso X saw no need for suicides to be tried for murder, as was the case for suicides in Medieval France (Murray 1998: 29-30). Like heretics and usurers, suicides, being in a state of despair, presumably fell into the category of those who had died 'en pecado mortal sabidamente' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 387; PI, TXIII, Ley IX) and would therefore have been denied Christian burial. The *Partidas* perhaps lack a total injunction against burying *desesperados* on holy ground because, as outlined in Partida VII, Título XXVII, Ley I, the term covered a variety of cases (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 686). Those *desesperados* who were 'asesinos et [...] traydores que matan a furto a los homes por algo que les dan' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 686) might well have had time to repent before their own deaths and those who killed themselves as a result of madness could

⁶⁶ Covarrubias Horozco after his condemnation of suicide added that, 'Esto no se entiende de los que estando fuera de juzio lo hizieron, como los locos o frenéticos' (1998: 458).

not have been considered to have done so 'sabidamente'. As explained in Partida I, Título I, Ley XXI, 'Señaladas personas son las que se pueden escusar de non recebir la pena que las leyes mandan, [...] así como aquel que fuese loco de tal locura que non sabe lo que se face' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 27). As has been noted by Guance, the Alfonsine prohibition regarding burial was, in any case, considerably more lenient than the treatment of the corpse in other European countries, where it could be enclosed in a barrel and thrown into a river or the sea (1998: 369).⁶⁷ The *Partidas* were also more lenient than other medieval European legal codes with regard to the possessions of the suicide. Murray has found that, 'In most places in medieval Europe legal consequences would threaten the next of kin, including loss of property' (1998: 29) but the *Partidas* state confiscation of goods should only occur if the deceased had already been accused of a crime and:

si el yerro era atal que sil fuese probado debíe morir por ende et perder todos sus bienes, et seyendo ya el pleyto comenzado por demanda et por respuesta se mató, estonce deben tomar todo lo suyo para el rey (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 533; PVII, TI, Ley XXIV).

Prosecution of a suicide in court was possible, but only if they had previously committed a very serious crime, 'si el yerro fuese de tal natura que el facedor de él pudiese seer acusado después de su muerte' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 533; PVII, TI, Ley XXIV), namely acts 'contra la persona del rey, o contra la pro comunal de la tierra' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 540; PVII, TII, Ley III) and this would apply to any dead person so accused, not just to suicides. Traitors and officials of the King accused of embezzlement could also be tried after their deaths (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 523; PVII, TI, Ley VII) and the goods of convicted traitors were to be confiscated and made the property of the king (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 540; PVII, TII, Ley II). With regard to all other suicides, either those accused of a crime which would not have incurred a

⁶⁷ This method of disposing of the suicide's corpse is discussed in more detail by Murray (2000: 37-41).

capital punishment or those who had taken their lives for other reasons, there was to be no confiscation:

si el yerro fuese atal que por razón dél non debiese recebir muerte maguer se matase, nol deben tomar sus bienes, ante deben fincar a sus herederos. Eso mismo debe ser guardado si alguno se matase por locura, o por dolor, o por cuita de enfermedad o por otro grant pesar que hobiese (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 533; PVII, TI, Ley XXIV).

Díaz de Montalvo's late-fifteenth-century *Ordenanzas reales*, though more severe than the *Partidas* in that they stipulated that the suicide's property should be forfeit to the Crown, were nonetheless more lenient than legislation in many other European countries, since 'la pena del que se desesperare' was forfeiture only if the deceased had left no descendants, 'El que se matare a sy mesmo pierda todos sus bienes, non teniendo herederos descendientes' (1999: 250r; Libro VII, Título XIII, Ley IX).

In the literature of the fifteenth century which celebrates courtly love, the theological consequences of suicide do not deter many lovers from ending their lives. Nonetheless, Diego de San Pedro, in his sentimental romance *Cárcel de Amor* accepted the prevailing association between despair and suicide. That Leriano's death is a suicide is clear given that he makes a conscious decision to seek death, 'todo lo que podíe acabar su vida alabava' (1985: 154) and 'ni quiso comer ni beber ni ayudarse de cosa de las que sustentan la vida' (1985: 154-155). He is portrayed as being in a state of despair at the time of his death and variations on the word 'desesperado' are used repeatedly to describe both his life and death: 'la desesperada vida' (1985: 90), 'desesperança le destruye' (1985: 95), 'condición de desesperar' (1985: 150). One of the personified allegorical figures to be found in Leriano's prison is in fact 'Desesperar':

El negro de vestiduras amarillas que se trabaja por quitarme la vida, se llama Desesperar; el escudo que me sale de la cabeça con que de sus golpes me

defiendo, es mi Juizio, el cual, viendo que vo con desesperación a matarme, dízeme que no lo haga (1985: 91).⁶⁸

In his final letter to Laureola he writes, 'como sienpre me aconpañan el pensamiento que me das y el deseo que me ordenas [...] quien causa las desesperaciones me tiene que no desespere' (1985: 152). Her reply deprives him of any hope of further communication with her and he therefore loses interest in life. Since we have evidence that before, during and after the period at which *Cárcel* was written there was condemnation of suicide and suicides on theological grounds, and San Pedro too associates suicide with the mortal sin of despair, it seems highly unlikely that San Pedro could have totally ignored the prevailing ideas concerning suicide. While he may be exalting love to such an extent that he later condemned the work in his *Desprecio de la Fortuna* as 'salsa para pecar' (1979: 276), he never went so far, even in *Cárcel*, as to deny that there might be a punishment in the afterlife for Leriano.⁶⁹ On the contrary, the outcome of his despair is alluded to in one of Leriano's earlier letters to Laureola when he begs her to remember him so that he may have some consolation when he arrives at the destination of 'las almas desesperadas' (1985: 108), which would appear to be a reference to Hell.

Though the literary tradition of suicidal lovers may, to a certain extent, have legitimised their portrayal in fiction, some works of literature condemned suicide. In *Siervo libre de amor*'s inset *Estoria de dos amadores* we find an example of suicide committed by a lover, Ardanlier, whose beloved, Liessa, had been murdered by his own father.⁷⁰ The manner in which their bodies are treated and the author's reaction to it reveals 'the love/religion conflation essential to the traditional courtly love idiom and

⁶⁸ The *auctor* gains Leriano a temporary reprieve by bringing him Hope, the antidote to Despair. When she arrives she is soon exercising a beneficial effect on Leriano, 'socorrió luego Esperança, que andava allí la más diligente, y echándole un poco de agua en el rostro tornó en su acuerdo' (San Pedro 1985: 112).

⁶⁹ The *Desprecio* was possibly composed in 1498 (Whinnom 1974: 14).

Rodríguez's unraveling of it' (Brownlee 1990: 94). Ardanlier and Liessa are buried in a tomb which states that they will remain there until, 'EL PAUOROSO DÍA QUE A LOS GRANDES BRAMIDOS DE LOS QUATRO ANIMALES DESPIERTEN DEL GRAND SUEÑO, E SUS MUY PURÍFICAS ÁNIMAS POSEAN PERDURABLE FOLGANÇA' (Rodríguez del Padrón 1986: 102).⁷¹ As neither had obeyed Christian precepts, we must suppose that Yrena, who decided on the wording and was chastely in love with Ardanlier, was not judging them by the standards of orthodox medieval Christian morality, which would not have considered them to have had 'puríficas ánimas'. This supposition is supported by the fact that Yrena 'hizo de sí proferta a la muy clara Vesta, deesa de castidat' (1986: 97) and planned to make the lovers' tomb into a temple to the same goddess.⁷² As we have seen, suicides were not permitted to be buried in hallowed ground since they were generally thought to have died in such sin as would lead to the damnation of their souls, yet these facts are not alluded to by Yrena, despite the fact that the reference to the Day of Judgement and the description of the lovers' souls are made in Christian terms. The validity of the 'courtly love idiom', at least with regard to the consequences of dying for love, would, however, appear to be rejected by the narrator (*el actor*), who awakes from sleep crying out ' "Buelta, buelta, mi esquyvo pensar, de la deçiente vía de perdiçión [...]" ' (1986: 107), namely the path of Hercules which 'refiere el tiempo que bien amó y fue desamado' (1986: 66) and is 'plantado en la deçiente vía qu[e] es la desesperaçión, por do quisiera seguir el desesperante libre aluedrío' (1986: 66). Given the association in the period between despair and suicide, and given that Ardanlier committed suicide for love, it would seem clear that the author is rejecting love precisely because, via despair and suicide, it causes

⁷⁰ Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's *Siervo libre de amor* was composed c. 1440 (Grieve 1987: xvii).

⁷¹ I have been unable to consult César Alonso Hernández's edition of *Siervo* in *Obras completas*, Biblioteca de la Literatura y el Pensamiento Hispánicos, 48 (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1982), pp. 153-208.

⁷² As Nepaulsingh has stated, 'there is nothing strictly Christian about Yrena's love. Yrena never mentions Christ or Christianity; the religion she creates is, in Christian terms, an idolatrous religion [...]; the goddess she serves, Vesta, [...] is pagan' (1986: 170).

the lover to descend into Hell. His *Entendimiento* had previously informed him that should he follow this path 'te deseredes de la humana vida, offreçiéndote a las penas que allá sufren los amadores, avnque tu piensas que biuen en gloria' (1986: 79). Having dreamed of Ardanlier and Liessa, he, unlike Yrena, comes to believe that those who die for love are destined for torments, 'penas', not 'gloria' or 'perdurable folgança'. As noted by Javier Herrero, it is stated that Yrena continued in 'tan áspera vida a los dos amadores, por los librar de las penas' (Rodríguez del Padrón 1986: 103). For Herrero, 'Yrena and her followers have become nuns and have devoted the rest of their lives to doing penance to save Ardanlier from eternal damnation' (1980: 761). If these 'penas' are indeed those of Hell, and those to be saved from them are the two lovers, this suggests that there is a recognition, within the world of the inset *Estoria*, that there was a sinful element in their conduct. Clearly this conflicts with the description on their tombstone of their 'puríficas ánimas' and the fact that their tomb becomes a site of pilgrimage for lovers. While I would agree with Herrero that Yrena's actions should be understood as 'a prefiguration of the Author's transformation, and as an example of his conversion, which would have taken place in the third part of the *Siervo* (and which took place in real life in Rodríguez del Padrón's religious profession)' (1980: 762), I would argue that it is an imperfect prefiguration, which still glorifies rather than emphatically condemns Ardanlier's suicide. The *actor's* actions subsequent to his awakening demonstrate a much more complete rejection of the values of courtly love than do Yrena's. As Colbert I. Nepaulsingh has observed, 'Yrena, of course, is mistaken in thinking that Ardanlier and Liessa have "puríficas ánimas" that will be rewarded with "perdurable folgança"; what she and other pilgrims of love, like the narrator, believe to be paradise is, actually, hell' (1986: 163). The courtly-love code of the *Estoria de dos amadores* is rejected and the *actor* turns instead to Synderesis.⁷³ Thus:

⁷³ Synderesis, whose name is 'derived from a Greek verb that means to preserve, guard, or observe religiously' (Nepaulsingh 1986: 163), has been identified variously as 'the allegorical representation of

the novella functions [...] as negative *exemplum*, for when he regains consciousness the protagonist has completely altered his perception. Rather than being a lovesick victim of unrequited passion, he now seeks instead the path of reason very fervently (Brownlee 1990: 100).⁷⁴

A similar recognition of the spiritual consequences of suicide to that shown in *Siervo* is manifest in the fifth of Santillana's *Sonetos al itálico modo*, written after the death of the infanta Catalina de Castilla on 27 October 1439 (Lawrance 1998: 6), in the voice of the bereaved infante, who states that:

[...] al abismo o çentro maligno
te seguiría, sy fuesse otorgada
a cavallero por golpe ferrino
cortar la tela por Cloto filada (Santillana 1988: 54).

Had it been necessary, and if he were permitted to do so, 'sy fuesse otorgada / a cavallero', he would gladly follow his wife to Hell by taking his own life. The rubric makes it quite clear that he is referring to suicide, 'ferirse él mesmo e darse a la muerte por golpe de fierro o en otra qualquiera manera' (1988: 55) and the implication is that via suicide he would find his way to Hell to follow his beloved. Unlike the courtly lover Ardanlier, however, he is aware that it is not *otorgado*: suicide is not open to him, despite his wish to follow his wife 'commo fiel amante' (1988: 54).

Nicolás Núñez, in his continuation of *Cárcel de Amor*, though not overtly condemnatory of suicide, nonetheless depicts the despairing *auctor* as rejecting it because of the blame attached to it, 'muchas vezes de mi desesperada vida con la muerte tomara vengança, si pudiera fazello sin que por desesperado me pudiera culpar' (1979:

Wisdom' (Brownlee 1990: 93) and 'Moral Conscience' (Haywood 1999: 14) and is the antithesis of the mental state of a courtly lover. The text ends with her arrival, but whether or not the manuscript is incomplete has been a matter of critical debate. Herrero (1980), for example, believes it is incomplete, whereas Nepaulsingh argues that it is complete (1986: 166-173).

⁷⁴ Haywood, through an analysis of allegory, reaches similar conclusions, 'the "Estoria de dos amadores" [...] concretise(s) the waking preoccupations of the protagonist and lead(s) to specific responses in the waking world which rupture the psychic diminishment and stasis which brought about the vision. In *Siervo* the protagonist seeks the reintegration of his faculties and this suggests a rejection of love' (2000a: 424).

56).⁷⁵ Leriano had already committed suicide before the time depicted in Núñez's continuation and although the *auctor* at first considers the possibility that should Leriano be in Heaven he would exchange its pleasures for the glory of knowing of Laureola's change of heart, 'trocarías la gloria celestial, si por dicha la tienes, por la temporal' (1979: 56), it seems that Leriano is actually in a place of punishment: when he appears to the *auctor* in a dream he speaks of the torment awaiting him, 'por esto que fago, aunque es poca la habla, espero mucho el tormento' (1979: 60) and he is then recalled by 'una boz muy triste que dezía: ¡Ven, Leriano, que tardas!' (1979: 67). This place of punishment may or may not be Hell, but there is no such doubt at all about the otherworldly location of Fiometa in Flores's *Grimalte y Gradissa*. She appears accompanied by some terrifying 'gentes abominables' (1988: 175) who, as they breathe out 'infernales fuegos [...] de sus ojos y bocas y orejas' (1988: 175), are clearly devils. That Fiometa is being punished in Hell for suicide is stated unequivocally, 'la desesperada muerte a Fiometa en las penas infernales para siempre ha condenado' (1988: 177).⁷⁶ One may safely conclude that despite classical *exempla*, to some of which Leriano in fact alludes, suicide was condemned by medieval Christians as being the cause of the destruction of the soul as well as of the body, and a very close link had been established in the medieval mind between suicide and the sinful state of despair.

Yet despairing suicides were not only condemned on theological grounds: the *defensores*' ideology also provided grounds for depriving them of their good name. Gómez Manrique, consoling his wife by describing deaths which their children avoided, speaks of:

⁷⁵ 'La primera edición conocida de la *Cárcel de Amor* de Nicolás Núñez es la incluida en la edición de la *Cárcel* de San Pedro impresa en Burgos en 1496 por Fadrique Alemán de Basilea' (Núñez 1979: xliii).

⁷⁶ Given the association discussed above between despair and suicide, it seems clear that Fiometa's death was self-inflicted. Further reasons in support of such a conclusion are adduced in a brief article by Vera Castro Lingl (1992-93).

muchos desventurados
 que mueren desesperados
 porque tarda su morir,
 poniendo fin a sus famas,
 a sus personas y vidas,
 cuyas almas son perdidas
 y por sienpre submergidas
 en las ynfernales flamas. (1991a: I, 72).

Here the despair which leads the individual to take his own life is clearly described as leading to the loss of *fama*, or reputation, as well as damnation. The implication of his words 'porque tarda su morir' is that these unfortunates were perhaps too weak, too lacking in *fortaleza*, to endure the trials or pains which would otherwise have preceded their deaths. Choosing suicide would therefore be a sign of weakness as well as of sin. This is, indeed, the basis for Fernando de Pulgar's criticism of Cato, made in his *Claros varones de Castilla*, which was written in the 'mid 1480s' (Pulgar 1971: xxxiv):

Loan los istoriadores romanos por varón de grand ánimo a Catón, porque se mató *no pudiendo con pacie[n]cia* sufrir la vitoria de Çésar su enemigo. Y *no sé yo por cierto qué mayor crueldad le fiziera el Çésar de la que él se fizo*. Porque repugnando la natura ꝛ al común deseo de los omes fizo en su persona lo que todos aborrescen fazer en la agena. E adornan su muerte, diziendo que murió por aver libertad. [...] Así que como aya grande razón para loar su vida, no veo que la aya para loar su muerte, porque anticiparse ninguno a desatar aquel conjuntíssimo ꝛ natural atamiento que el ánima tiene con el cuerpo, *temiendo* que otro le desate, cosa es más para aborrecer que para loar. No se mata el marinero en la fortuna antes que le mate la fortuna, ni el cercado se da la muerte *por miedo* de la servidumbre del cercador. A todos sostiene la esperança que no pudo sostener a Catón (1971: 13, my italics).⁷⁷

Pulgar emphasises Cato's lack of endurance, 'no pudiendo con pacie[n]cia sufrir', and courage, 'temiendo que otro le desate', implying that Cato feared the tortures that might be inflicted on him by Caesar to such an extent that it caused him to act in this dishonourable fashion. Pero Díaz de Toledo similarly accused Cato of having acted 'con

⁷⁷ Robert Brian Tate notes that, 'In his [Pulgar's] eyes a new era had begun for Castile, parallel to that period in Roman history which had traditionally called forth praise from moralists and historians' (Pulgar 1971: xxix). His denigration of Romans seems to be due, at least in part, to his patriotism, so his comments cannot be seen solely as a critique of Roman customs. Nonetheless, he would not have chosen to target this particular Roman had he not felt that his *exemplum* was one which could easily be demonstrated to be negative. In arguing that Cato's suicide was not a courageous act Pulgar follows St Augustine (for a summary of whose arguments see Murray 2000: 116-117).

poco coraçon' (1892: 268).⁷⁸ Santillana however, like Dante, who made Cato the guardian of his *Purgatorio* and 'conceived of the pagan's choice of death over tyranny not one of cowardice, but rather as one of great courage' (Rolfs 1976: 205), expressed admiration for Cato, but, again like Dante, whose Cato is forever barred from entering Purgatory and thus cannot enter Heaven, made it clear that Cato's manner of death was incompatible with Christianity. In Santillana's *Bías contra Fortuna*, 'the pagan philosopher Bias quite legitimately views the suicide of Cato [...] with approval, but in the *Proverbios* Santillana enters a *caveat*' (Pulgar 1971: xlv).⁷⁹ The caveat is an important one, since it draws a distinction between behaviour appropriate for pagans and that suitable for Christians:

¡Quánto bien murió Catón,
si permitiese
nuestra ley e consintiese
tal razón! (Santillana 1988: 247).⁸⁰

Clearly, the *defensores*, including Santillana, might, if they deemed Cato's suicide an act of courage rather than of weakness, feel some admiration for his act even though as Christians they were obliged to condemn it.⁸¹ In less heroic circumstances, as Gómez Manrique suggested, suicide would be condemned by *defensores* as a sign of weakness. What is enlightening about Pulgar's criticism is that it calls into question Cato's bravery, the very quality which made him admirable to other *defensores*: his critique of Cato's suicide is not based primarily on Christianity. Like Santillana, the *defensores* were well able to recognise the theological implications of suicide, but they could have

⁷⁸ Pero Díaz de Toledo's *Diálogo e razonamiento en la muerte del marqués de Santillana* was written after Santillana's death in 1458. The *terminus ante quem* is probably 1464, the date of the death of the Conde de Alba, to whom it is dedicated (Cherchi 1992: 112).

⁷⁹ Santillana wrote his *Proverbios o Centiloquio* in 1437 (Foster 1971: 68).

⁸⁰ Paolo Cherchi suggests that the fifth chapter of Díaz de Toledo's *Diálogo e razonamiento*, which deals with the question of suicide, 'constituye otra "glosa" de Pero Díaz a la poesía del Marqués' (1992: 116), refuting the view of Cato expressed in the *Bías contra Fortuna*.

⁸¹ This fifteenth-century circumspection is not always present in earlier works. In the words of the *Poema de Fernán González*'s eponymous hero prior to battle with Almanzor we can detect very clearly 'la persistencia de la idea de un suicidio heroico, al estilo romano o saguntino [...]: "matar me he yo antes que ser en su poder"' (Martínez Gil 1996: 45).

some admiration for the act if its motivation was in accordance with their precepts of honour. The importance of honour, and the impact of its loss on the individual were recognised as being a potential cause of suicide by the *Partidas*, which explained that suicides could occur when 'alguno que es rico, et poderoso et honrado, veyendo quel desheredan, o le han desheredado o le facen perder la honra et el poderío que ante habíe, desesperase metiéndose a peligro de muerte o matándose él mismo' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 686; PVII, TXXVII, Ley I).⁸² As the phrase 'metiéndose a peligro de muerte' perhaps suggests, their role as warriors presented *defensores* with ample opportunities to receive a fatal wound. Even when death was not sought deliberately, their ideology, revealed in phrases such as those already discussed, which urged death before dishonour, could at times come ambiguously close to an endorsement of suicide:

Hand-to-hand fighting was dangerous. It exalted, among those expected to engage in it, the virtue of physical courage; exalted it as high above the level of other virtues, in noble circles, as many people in all circles sunk the sin of suicide below other vices. Yet, extremes though these were, it could be hard to distinguish them in practice or even, indeed, in principle. The distinction between selfless courage, on one hand, and culpable rashness, on the other, might pose questions too awkward to attract regular treatment by moral theologians. But in war the questions came up (Murray 1998: 62).

Although the *caballero* was supposed to value and protect his life, a sentiment expressed by Leriano when urging his troops to fight, 'tanto por sustentación de vida como por gloria de fama nos conviene pelear' (San Pedro 1985: 146), nonetheless, at times the urge to gain that 'gloria de fama' could be overwhelming. In *Cárcel de Amor* itself, the casualties during the conflict between the King and Leriano are very high, 'en especial de los mancebos cortesanos, que sienpre buscan el peligro por gloria' (San Pedro 1985: 145). Whinnom notes that this is 'otro elogio de los *donceles*' (San Pedro 1985: 145n), and thus indirectly of the 'Alcaide de los Donceles' (San Pedro 1985: 79) to whom *Cárcel* was dedicated. Enríquez del Castillo also describes some *mancebos* as

⁸² The other three reasons suggested as a cause of suicide by the *Partidas* are fear of punishment, a desire to avoid the pain of illness or suffering, or as a result of anger or madness (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III,

being in pursuit of glory, 'iban ganosos de hacer algunas cosas hazañosas, famosas de varones, por ganar honra e alcanzar nombradía, segund la costumbre de la nobleza de España' (1914: 107). Yet although the *caballero* was supposed to be willing to die on the battlefield, he was not supposed to expose himself to danger unnecessarily. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán expressed the view that the young sometimes confused bravery with rash impetuosity and criticised the *mancebos* for their excessive risk-taking which placed their lives in unnecessary danger, 'los mancebos [...] con el ardideza e poca experiencia que tienen de los hechos de armas, a las veces por se mostrar muy valientes ponen a sí e a los otros en gran peligro' (1914a: 321). As an older *caballero* he felt such behaviour was reckless, but his acceptance of the value of bravery and honour perhaps made him stop short of considering such action suicidal. It is perhaps significant that in Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*, it is a hermit, a representative of the *oradores* rather than of the *defensores*, who warns the youthful Galaor against fighting a giant:

¿Quién os pone en tan gran locura como ésta, que en toda esta comarca no ay tales diez cavalleros que le osassen acometer, tanto es bravo y espantoso y sin ninguna merced?; y vos seyendo en tal edad poner os en tal peligro, *perder queréis el cuerpo y ahun el alma, que aquellos que conosciadamente se ponen en la muerte, pudiéndolo escusar, ellos mismos se matan* (1987: 343, my italics).

As we have already seen, for women of the estate of *defensores* honour was closely linked to chastity and we therefore find that Doña María Coronel, the only woman who kills herself among the 'modernas de la castellana nación' (San Pedro 1985: 169) mentioned by Leriano, is praised for her chastity despite the fact that she 'quiso matarse con fuego' (San Pedro 1985: 169). Diego de Valera, in his *Tratado en defenssa de virtuossas mugeres*, which, according to Round (1989), was the source for Leriano's list, states that, 'Bien me paresce que fuera tan digna de perpetua recordación doña María Coronel [...], que con fuego se mató por guardar su castidat, como Lucrecia

(1959c: 59). Juan de Mena also praised María and stated that she, 'quiso con fuego vencer sus fogueras' (1997: 137); in other words that she burned herself in order to overcome her lustful feelings. María's motives, according to Leriano, were to ensure that, 'su castidad fuese loada y su bondad no escurecida' (San Pedro 1985: 169-170); imperatives which parallel the *caballero's* need to preserve his honour and enhance his *fama*.

The Church could praise certain suicides, but it did so on rather different grounds: those of divine inspiration. Fray Martín de Córdoba, having described the suicide of Saint Pelagia, who killed herself rather than lose her virginity, is quick to explain why the act, in this context, is laudable rather than sinful:

A esto dirá aquí alguno si es lícito que la virgen se mate antes que perder la virginidad. A esto digo, con Sant Agustín, en el primero *De la ciudad de Dios*, que de ley común no es lícito que la moça, por evitar pecado ajeno, cometa en sí pecado propio matándose; pero de privilegio especial, quando Dios inspira que así se haga, no sólo no es pecado, mas antes es mérito e martirio (1964b: 107).

Aquinas stated in the *Summa theologiae* that in general women should not commit suicide in order to avoid the loss of their virginity, 'it is unlawful for a woman to kill herself lest she be violated, because she ought not to commit on herself the very great sin of suicide, to avoid the lesser sin of another' (2000: IIaIIae, 64.5). He nonetheless followed Saint Augustine with respect to a few exceptional cases where the act had been inspired by God:

As Augustine says (De Civ. Dei i, 21), 'not even Samson is to be excused that he crushed himself together with his enemies under the ruins of the house, except the Holy Ghost, Who had wrought many wonders through him, had secretly commanded him to do this.' He assigns the same reason in the case of certain holy women, who at the time of persecution took their own lives, and who are commemorated by the Church (2000: IIaIIae, 64.5).⁸³

⁸³ Díaz de Toledo follows them both with regard to Samson who 'non deue ser auido por homicida de sy mesmo porque derrocó la casa del Templo sobre sy e sobre todos los otros que estauan en ella, donde todos murieron, porque el Espíritu Santo secreta mente lo mandó así fazer' (1892: 266).

Taken together, the praise for Cato and María Coronel by some secular writers and the contrasting, extremely limited, endorsement of Samson and female martyr suicides provided by theologians, suggest that, just as in the case of the *defensores*' good death in battle, there was a gap between the secular and ecclesiastical viewpoints on this issue. Yet the gap was one which could be bridged: just as crusading fused secular and sacred ideals, so both *oradores* and *defensores* could praise suicide in defence of chastity, though the Church sought to narrow the range of such laudable suicides by insisting on the need for divine inspiration for the act.

5. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have attempted to show both that there existed a core of ideas which were distinctly *defensor* or *orador* concerning the best and worst ways to die, and that these nonetheless possessed similarities with each other and were not always perceived as mutually exclusive. In concluding this chapter I wish to highlight a formal similarity in the approach of the two estates to the categorisation of death. From the examples discussed above it might appear that both *defensores* and *oradores* divided deaths into only two classes, either good or bad. The aftermath of death for the deceased will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter but, as we shall see, the *oradores* possessed a tripartite schema of the afterlife, consisting of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell. The apparent disjunction between a bipartite schema concerning death and a tripartite one with regard to the afterlife raises the question as to why there seems to have been no middle category of deaths. I believe that the answer is implicit in the descriptions of both good and bad deaths. According to the *oradores*, although there were three possible destinations for the soul of a deceased Christian, one of these, Purgatory, was only a temporary abode. Thus although the ideal good death, that of a saint or martyr would guarantee immediate entry to Heaven, for the majority a good death in fact indicated that the soul would have been saved from damnation, but would require to spend some time in Purgatory. However, as Purgatory was conceived as a preliminary to entry into Heaven, the most important categorisation to make between deaths was not a tripartite one, but one which distinguished between salvation and damnation. This may perhaps explain García Guzmán & Abellán Pérez's finding that in the wills they studied, despite the various types of post-mortem spiritual assistance requested by the testators, 'no hay ni una sola referencia al Purgatorio, prevaleciendo el aspecto positivo de la muerte, tránsito a la Vida Eterna' (1997: 10). Leonor Gómez Nieto similarly found

that, 'las referencias al purgatorio no son frecuentes entre los testamentos consultados – y sólo se dan en los del siglo XVI' (1991: 87). Nonetheless, as we shall see in the following chapters, the 'middle category', the saved in Purgatory, were very far from forgotten and to them the Church and the faithful devoted a great deal of spiritual and material resources.

In the *defensores*' scheme good and bad deaths reaped positive or negative *fama* for the deceased. There was, however, another possible class into which deaths and deceased individuals could fall. Certain deaths, and the individuals who died them, could simply be forgotten, but by their very nature they are not likely to appear in literature or chronicles. At times, however, one senses the possibility of the existence of this third category; for example, when chroniclers speak of the need to save the memories of both heroes and villains from oblivion, in order to provide *exempla* to future generations. Similarly, as in Jorge Manrique's *Coplas*, the ancient *ubi sunt* topos, when used to recall generic groups rather than named individuals, hints at the presence of the middle category whose deeds and identities are lost from memory:

¿Qué fue de tanto galán,
¿qué de tanta inuición
que truxeron? (1985: 155-156)

and

¿Qué se hizieron las damas,
sus tocados e vestidos
sus olores? (1985: 156).⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Jorge Manrique's *Coplas por la muerte de su padre* were written after the death of Rodrigo Manrique in November 1476 and before the poet's own death in early 1479 (Manrique 1985: 22-23). The ambiguity of the *topos* meant that although Manrique could write 'vengamos a lo d'ayer, / que también es olvidado' (1985: 155), his list in fact also recalls such notables as 'el rey don Joan' (1985: 155) who were very far from forgotten.

III. THE AFTERLIFE

TRISTÁN E GALAZ, LANÇAROTE DEL LAGO,
E OTROS MÁS D'ESTOS, DEÇITME ¿QUÁL DRAGO
TRAGÓ TODOS ÉSTOS, O D'ELLOS QUÉ ES? (Baena 1993: 60).¹

1. The *oradores* and the afterlife

Although the manner of an individual's death was generally considered extremely important, a theologian such as Fray Juan de Alarcón (d. c. 1451) could challenge the existing classification system of deaths, as outlined in the previous chapter, by asserting that whether a death was good or bad depended on the life lived and, more importantly, the destination of the soul:

digo con Sant Agustín que non es muerte mala, sinon si la vida que alante pasó era mala; non es mala la muerte sinon por lo que se sigue después de la muerte, [...] entonces es mala la salida del ánima, quando después que sale es afligida e atormentada; e por el contrario [...] es buena la muerte quando bien va el ánima después que sale desta vida e el cuerpo muere (1964: 163).²

The difficulty facing a theologian who sought to challenge the usual categorisations of what constituted a good or a bad death was that these categorisations already took into account a moral element. A good life was expected to lead to a good death, 'de la buena vida sienpre se sigue buena muerte' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 153). Conversely, people associated certain forms of death with ignominy and sin, and therefore believed that dying in such a way was an indicator both that the life lived had been sinful and that the soul would be damned after death. These bad deaths were classed as such precisely because in general they were thought to indicate that the soul of the deceased would be 'afligida e

¹ According to the rubric, 'Este dezir fizo fray Migir de la Orden de Sant Jerónimo, capellán del onrado obispo de Segovia, don Juan de Tordesillas, quando finó el dicho señor rey don Enrique en Toledo' (Baena 1993: 58), an event which took place in 1406.

² Of Fray Juan de Alarcón, 'la fecha de su nacimiento [...] debió de ser a finales del siglo XIV' (*Prosistas castellanos* 1964: xxxix). According to Rodríguez Velasco he composed the *Libro del regimiento de los señores* c. 1400 (1996: 383).

atormetada'. It is this prevailing attitude that is challenged in an *exemplum* in which the servant of a 'buen rreligioso' who is killed and eaten by a wild beast throws himself to the ground and declares, '¡Oh Señor! Non me levantaré fasta que me muestres commo [...] este santo padesció esta pena' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 98), presumably because he cannot understand how a good man can die a bad death. An angel replies, 'este santo tenía alguna culpa la qual le fue perdonada en esto que le mató alguna bestia por que fallasse en el otro mundo folgança por sienpre' (1961: 98). The moral of the *exemplum*, 'Los joyzios grandes de Dios / muy abscondidos son a nos' (1961: 98), is one that would no doubt have found favour with Martínez de Toledo, who, realising the difficulties arising from the cultural association of certain types of death with damnation, advised that, 'ninguno non diga: "Este ¿por qué bivió mal e acabó bien?" nin "¿Por qué este bivió bien e acabó mal?" que Nuestro Señor sabe [...] quién es bueno o quién bive bien, quién es malo e bive mal: secretos son de Dios' (1979: 267).

The strength of the prejudice against certain types of death, including those of the type suffered by the 'buen rreligioso', is perhaps demonstrated by the fact that, despite his view of 'bad' deaths outlined above, Fray Juan de Alarcón, when applying himself to the case of a person eaten by wild animals, stated that such a death would occur:

porque Dios, segund su justicia, ha dado sentencia que aquel tal omne muera o padezca a dientes, uñas o cuernos de tal fiera, porque ha merescido tal pena; como dize la Escripura, las animalías bravas, las uñas, dientes o ponçoña dellas, el fuego, nieve e tempestades crió Dios para vengarse de los malos (1964: 164).³

When dealing with 'los señores tenporales que non fazen justicia' he again had recourse to the concept of the bad death, asserting that God:

³ On a more pragmatic note he also admitted that the death might have occurred because the person in question had irritated the animal instead of leaving it alone.

algunas vezes [...] non espera a la muerte natural desto, mas aún en este mundo los judga e comiença a fazer justicias dellos, dándoles malas muertes e ocasionadas, [...] e por ende, destas penas e daños tenporales descíenden a las penas infernales (1964: 209).

Despite the prevailing prejudices against certain types of death, shared even by some theologians, the Church's official position was clear: God alone was aware of the fate of each soul, and the Church, apart from when the death occurred in one of the few circumstances which guaranteed immediate entry into Heaven (discussed below) or in exceptional circumstances, such as when confirmation of their status had been provided by a miracle or a vision, could not be sure of the destination of the dead. In the case of the vast majority of Christians, 'aunque alguno consiga salvación esto a nos non es manifesto' (Córdoba 1964a: 16). The Church did, of course, teach that only Christians could attain everlasting salvation: heretics, infidels and pagans were doomed to suffer the pains of Hell. This is the view expounded in the *Siete Partidas*, which, after a summary of the articles of the faith states that, 'todo home que esta creencia non hobiere, non puede en este mundo haber el amor de Dios, nin salvación del alma en el otro' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 40; PI, TIII). Nonetheless, the Church's reluctance to state the outcome of God's judgement for any particular soul (as opposed to generalised expected outcomes for groups such as infidels) extended even to those put to death for heresy, for as Aquinas stated:

In God's tribunal, those who return are always received, because God is a searcher of hearts, and knows those who return in sincerity. But the Church cannot imitate God in this, for she presumes that those who relapse after being once received, are not sincere in their return; hence she does not debar them from the way of salvation, but neither does she protect them from the sentence of death (2000: IIaIIae, 11.4).

But if serious sinners could be saved, apparently virtuous individuals might be damned.

One of Sánchez de Vercial's *exempla* demonstrates how God's judgement is not

necessarily that which might have been expected. Some nuns, mistakenly believing that the abbess's deceased niece had lived a holy life, 'la avían todos por ssanta' (1961: 76). Nonetheless, on asking God 'que les quisiesse mostrar en qué estado estava el ánima de aquella monja' (1961: 76), they were duly granted a vision in which she appeared and 'les declaró commo era condenada al infierno' (1961: 76). In addition to the presumptuousness of stating the otherworldly fate of any soul without divine confirmation, speaking ill of the dead was considered a dangerous and sinful procedure. Under the heading 'Dezir mal del finado / es grave pecado' (1961: 94) Sánchez de Vercial relates three *exempla* in which those who criticised dead saints met an untimely death as a result. The Church's encouragement of the living's intercession for all the dead therefore erred on the side of caution. That suffrages could be of no avail to those in Hell and Heaven was explained in the *Summa theologiae* (Aquinas 2000: SuppIIIa, 71.5 & 71.8) and Fray Lope Fernández de Minaya in his description of Hell included among its torments the fact that the souls of the damned, unlike those in Purgatory:

non han parte en ningund beneficio nin sacrificio que en la Iglesia se faga, los quales son como vianda a los que están en Purgatorio para que mejor puedan sofrir las penas que les dan, e son como modicina para los desmenguar dellas o del todo librarlos dellas (1964a: 227-228).

However, it was thought better occasionally to offer prayers for those who could not benefit from them (the saved in Heaven and the damned) than neglect those in Purgatory who did need them.⁴ According to the twelfth-century theologian Raoul Ardent, 'nous, frères, qui ignorons qui a besoin et qui n'a pas besoin, à qui cela peut profiter et à qui cela ne le peut pas, pour tous, y compris ceux pour qui nous n'avons pas de certitude, nous devons offrir des prières, des aumônes, des messes' (Le Goff 1981:

⁴ Interestingly, it is stated in the *Siete Partidas* that the same actions which help the souls in Purgatory 'alivia a los que yacen en infierno de las penas que han' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 165; PI, TIV, Ley XCVII), though they will never be able to leave Hell. This may reflect the influence of Augustine, who,

304).

The teaching of the Church regarding speculations on the other-worldly fate of specific individuals seems to a great extent to have been respected. Though authors might offer an opinion as to whether a particular death had been good or bad, they seem to have hesitated before making categorical statements about the consequences of such a type of death and this reticence is particularly noticeable if the expected outcome, following a bad death, was damnation. Diego de Valera, in relating his far from unbiased versions of the bad deaths of Pope Paul II and Enrique IV, went no further than to relate the bad elements of the deaths, concluding only that they were buried hastily and without the usual pomp and ceremony (1914: 62 & 94). The strong implication of the facts described is that their souls were in peril, but Valera avoided any explicit comment to this effect. A greater degree of impartiality is demonstrated by one chronicler of the death of Philip, husband of Juana 'la loca', which took place in 1506 after he had reigned for only four months. Having related Philip's virtues as well as his failings, he included the opinion held by some that it was a punishment of God but remitted any final decision to the deity:

Muchos decían que esta muerte deste Rey a este reino había sobrevenido por juicio de Dios, por la desobediencia que este Rey tuvo al rey don Fernando su padre; otros afirmaban que con mal regimiento deste siglo al otro había pasado. *Dexémoslo al juicio de Dios en cuya mano e determinación está todo* (Continuación 1914: 524, my italics).

Even when the writers hoped the outcome was a more positive one for the deceased's soul, they still tended to show circumspection. Death gives Rodrigo Manrique 'buena esperanza' of 'estotra vida tercera' (Manrique 1985: 165) and Jorge Manrique expresses the hope that God may bring his father's soul to glory, 'el cual la ponga en el cielo en su

writing before the doctrine of Purgatory had been fully formulated, believed that the prayers of the

gloria' (1985: 167), but avoids a statement which would express absolute certainty regarding the whereabouts of his father's soul. When someone did express certainty, they tended to feel the need to justify themselves by stating the grounds on which such confidence was based. Despite her leading role in the completion of the Reconquest, Isabel I's chronicler nonetheless felt a need to explain why it was not a 'temeridad' for him to show confidence in the salvation of her soul:

Desta reina, considerada la fe, vida, e religión e fin, no sería temeridad afirmar que está en el cielo: a lo menos que purgadas algunas culpas de sus peccados, pues como dice el Apóstol, no hay justo ni quien pueda decir que está sin pecado, en breve será colocada en la celestial gloria con los Santos (*Continuación* 1914: 523).⁵

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish a strong belief or hope from a certainty. In Santillana's fifth *Soneto al itálico modo* the speaker mentions the 'templo divino, / donde yo creo seas reçeptada / segund tu ánimo santo benigno' (1988: 54). Since the speaker is the deceased's distraught spouse, some allowances can presumably be made for him if he deviates slightly from orthodox teaching on the matter. Even so, the rubric explains that he is refering 'al çielo e perdurable gloria [...], donde él se cuyda e ha por dicho ella yva, según la vida e obras suyas' (1988: 55, my italics). It is thus again the case that the deceased's good life and works are mentioned in justification of the speaker's belief that the former is in Heaven. Even the Pope gave his reasoning and he, the successor of St Peter, who had been granted the 'power of the keys' to loose sins (Matthew 16.19), was surely the most qualified of all mortals to express a firm view on the fate of any soul. After the death of Juan I, the Bishop of Sant Ponce brought to the Castilian court the information that the Pope 'avía confianza en la piedad de Dios, pues la vida del rey don Juan fue siempre buena, e él quito de pecados, e con muchas buenas

faithful could reduce the suffering of certain of the sinners in Hell (Le Goff 1981: 106-107).

costumbres, que la su alma sería en buen logar' (López de Ayala 1914b: 172).

Where the soul's destination had been revealed by a miracle or a vision, the need for circumspection was diminished. Dante names souls in Hell, Purgatory and Heaven based on knowledge purportedly gained during a journey to the afterlife. Berceo could legitimately assign the dead to Heaven or Hell since he did so on the basis of authoritative miracles which had revealed the truth. Similar proof was provided of the otherworldly location of Doña Marí García, who died in 1404 and 'en cuya muerte fueron conocidos y averiguados grandes miraglos' (San Pedro 1985: 170). Certainty regarding the fate of a particular soul was often based on, and given authority by, a vision or dream, either of the soul in the afterlife or of the spirits which came to escort it to its destination. In the case of a number of the sentimental romances the authors indicate the status of deceased characters in the afterlife by recourse to a miracle or vision, but even so the precise interpretation of the validity and meaning of these is left to the readers' discretion. In Rodríguez del Padrón's *Siervo libre de amor* the dead lovers' tomb is miraculously enchanted; Fiometa, in Flores's *Grimalte y Gradisa* appears to her unfaithful beloved in a ghastly vision, surrounded by demons; in Nicolás Núñez's continuation of *Cárcel de Amor* the dead Leriano appears in a dream to the *auctor*.⁶ There are a few exceptions to this circumspection: the *exempla*, on occasion, simply state an opinion as to the destination of an individual's soul without basing it on a vision. Nonetheless, their use of stock characters enables them to avoid the charge of predicting God's will with regard to any given individual, rather they fulfil a didactic function in showing which types of behaviour were thought to lead to damnation. We

⁶ Isabel's chronicler, though he makes a fairly strong statement about her place in the afterlife, falls slightly short of claiming that she was entitled to proceed directly to Heaven after death. As we shall see below, very few were sinless enough to be entitled to do so.

are told, for example, of a blasphemer from Sienna, described only as 'un noble de linaje' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 63) who was suddenly struck down, 'le rrompieron las venas de dentro e començo a lançar sangre' (1961: 63) and 'morió syn confessyón' (1961: 63). There is no otherworldly messenger or vision (though the man's sudden illness could be interpreted as a sign from God) but the *exemplum* nonetheless concludes, 'non es dubda que se fuesse para el ynfierno' (1961: 63). The danger, as Martínez de Toledo's injunction makes clear, lay in applying to known individuals the general rule that the manner of death was an indicator of the deceased's otherworldly destination.

If the main characters of *Celestina* can be seen as negative *exempla*, this is due in part to their bad deaths, as suggested in the concluding verses to the *Tragicomedia* version of *Celestina*, 'Pues aquí vemos *quán mal fenecieron* / aquestos amantes, huygamos su dança' (1998: 342, my italics). Unlike the characters in the *exempla* collections, those who die 'bad deaths' in *Celestina* are not clearly assigned to Heaven, Hell or Purgatory. In contrast to the often un-named stock characters of the *exempla*, Rojas perhaps felt that the characters of *Celestina*, in speaking for themselves and revealing details of their lives, deserved to have their otherworldly fates treated with the same caution as would have been accorded non-fictional individuals. Alan Deyermond, having examined the question of contrition *in articulo mortis* in *Celestina*, concludes that despite the characters' deaths without confession, Rojas had been careful to surround their deaths with ambiguity, 'No digo [...] que Rojas nos muestre almas seguramente salvadas, pero me parece claro que quería indicar una posibilidad y

⁶ The location of their souls has already been discussed in the previous chapter, in the section on self-inflicted deaths.

hacernos pensar en ella' (1984: 138).⁷ Even in the *Comedia* version Celestina, unlike Calisto, called for confession as she was being murdered. It therefore seems appropriate to examine contemporary attitudes to contrition *in articulo mortis* in the context of her death.

Sempronio is the only character to state a link between Celestina's death, with which he is threatening her, and the damnation of her soul, 'yo te haré yr al infierno con cartas' (Rojas 1998: 274). Clearly this comment, made by her murderer and, crucially, before her death and call for confession, cannot be accepted as a reliable indication of the fate of her soul. Calisto's judgement on Celestina and her former accomplices, 'Permisión fue divina que assí acabassen en pago de muchos adulterios que por su intercesión o causa son cometidos' (Rojas 1998: 282), attributes her bad death to God, but he does not speculate on the whereabouts of her soul. Elicia is similarly silent on this matter, for though she mentions the judgement of Celestina's soul, 'ya está dando cuenta de sus obras' (Rojas 1998: 296), she does not offer an opinion on the outcome of the process. Certainly there are many facts which might lead one to conclude that Celestina would have gone to Hell. Being a murder victim, her death would have been classed as a bad one and her life had been far from virtuous. It was thought to be much harder to be truly contrite in one's final moments if one had previously lived sinfully:

dize Sant Agostín y trae el maestro en el dezeno libro de las *Sentençias*, la qual sentençia segunt los doctores: 'la penjtencia que se faze quando el onbre está a la muerte apenas será verdadera njn bastante para alcançar la salud del ánjma'. Mayormente en aquellos que nunca en su vida con verdadera voluntad guardaron los mandamjentos de Dios (*Arte 'E'* 1990: 194–195).

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, who also mentions St Augustine, exhorts in his *Coplas de vicios y virtudes*:

⁷ A similar conclusion is reached by Anne Eesley (1983) but her treatment of the subject of the calls for

ala muerte non esperemos
 a doler 7 arrepentir;
 con la priessa del partir
 muchos el seso perdieron,
 7 delos que mal viuieron
 pocos suelen bien morir (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 620).

As an old woman, Celestina's sins were well-engrained. Though able to state theological truths such as 'Dios no pide más del pecador, de arrepentirse y emendarse' (Rojas 1998: 193), Celestina is angered by Pármeno's comment 'del pecado lo peor es la perseverancia, que assí como el primer movimiento no es en mano del hombre, assí el primero yerro, donde dizen que quien yerra y se emienda, etc.' (1998: 198). Though aware of the need for repentance and penance, Celestina has consciously chosen to persevere in sin, as her response in an aside makes clear, '¿a las verdades nos andamos' (1998: 198).⁸ A last-minute confession such as Celestina's would have raised the suspicion that it was based not on contrition and a lifetime of loving God, but on a sudden fear of death and punishment in the afterlife:

dize Sant Agostín que ninguno deve esperar quando non deue pecar, e deue fazer la penitencia de tiempo que esté en su mano de pecar o non pecar, e non en tiempo que los pecados ya le dexan, porque la muerte e nesciedad le trae a non pecar. E el que faze penitencia, non solamente lo faga por el temor de Dios, mas por el su amor. E non sola mente tema a la muerte e pena que habrá non haciendo penitencia, mas conviene que aya en sí anxia e deseo de alcançar la gloria (Díaz de Toledo 1892: 327).

Celestina's persistence in the deadly sin of avarice, a 'sacrílega hambre' (Rojas 1998: 296) as Elicia calls it, is, however, confirmed only moments before her death. Sempronio asks 'O vieja avarienta, garganta muerta de sed por dinero, ¿no serás contenta con la tercera parte de lo ganado?' (1998: 274). Though his question is hardly a rigorous examination of Celestina's conscience, it does nonetheless fulfil at least a part

confession in *Celestina* is much less thorough than Deyermund's.

of the conventional process necessary to the good death, that of the questioning of the dying so that they might repent of their sins. As prescribed in the *Arte de bien morir*:

A todo hombre que está en punto de muerte, mientras tiene el huso de la rrazón, deue ser preguntado de algunas cosas, porque si por aventura non es tan dispuesto para bien morir, que sea informado de aquellas cosas que pertenescen a salud de su ánima (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 165).

The seventh and final of these questions, to which the dying person was supposed to answer in the affirmative, was, '¿quieres todas las cosas por ti tomadas de mala parte, rrestitujllas en quanto eres obligado según el valor de tu hacienda, e dar lugar e rrenunçiar todos tus bienes, si en otra manera non pudiesses del todo?' (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 168). This question complemented the last will and testament, which, at least in part, demonstrated the dying person's renunciation of worldly goods and their wish to repay financial and moral debts. Celestina's reply, '¿Qué tercia parte?' (Rojas 1998: 274), shows very clearly that she is clinging to her possessions, however ill-gotten, and from this alone it is apparent that she is not contrite. Had Celestina persisted in her failure to acknowledge and repay her debts, the absence of these indicators of contrition and the wish to make satisfaction would have been sufficient grounds, even had she received absolution, for it to have been deemed invalid. Under the heading 'Quién non deve ser absuelto, e cúa absolución non vale' (*Arte* 1999: 142), the *Breve confesionario* includes, 'el que non quiere pagar sus debdas, como las pueda pagar et aya bien donde' (*Arte* 1999: 142).

If we compare her situation with that of a rich man in one of Sánchez de Vercial's *exempla*, a significant difference is apparent. Like *Moriens* in the *Ars moriendi* the rich man can see the devils which surround him, 'quando vino a la ora de

⁸ Sempronio too is aware of the sinfulness of persevering in sin, for as he says to Calisto, 'La perseverancia en el mal no es constancia mas dureza o pertinacia la llaman en mi tierra' (1998: 94).

la muerte, abrió los ojos e vio delante sy estar spíritus malignos muy negros que lo querían levar al infierno' (1961: 107). Like Celestina he cries out, but, crucially, not for confession, '¡Dadme término fasta mañana!' (1961: 107); however, it is to no avail, 'dando así estas bozes los diablos le sacaron el ánima del cuerpo e leváronla a su morada' (1961: 108). Burdened as Celestina was with sin, one word of contrition could theoretically have been sufficient to save her from damnation. As the *Arte de bien morir* explained:

non debe desesperar njnguno, avnque oviesse muerto tantos omnes e oviesse fecho tantos adulterios quantas gotas de agua ay en la mar, avnque de ellos primero non oviesse fecho penitencja njn los oviesse confessado, si non oviesse logar o tienpo para los confessar. Ca en tal caso, abasta verdadera contrición (*Arte 'N'* 1990: 157).

Celestina's cries of 'confesión confesión' (1998: 274), followed by a third and final '¡Confesión!' (1998: 275), if uttered with true contrition and faith, not as a 'mero reflejo acondicionado' (Deyermond 1984: 130), may yet have been enough to save her.

We have seen, then, that only in very few cases could an individual's soul be ascribed a location in the afterlife with any certainty. These locations themselves were, however, often described in great detail. As Jacques Le Goff has observed, for a religion which believes in a physical resurrection the geography of the afterlife is of great importance, 'Organiser l'espace de son au-delà a été une opération de grande portée pour la société chrétienne. Quand on attend la résurrection des morts, la géographie de l'autre monde n'est pas une affaire secondaire' (1981: 14). Though opinions on the precise location of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell varied in the Middle Ages, the afterlife always had a strong spatial element: Heaven and Hell were geographically as well as spiritually distanced from each other, with the World and Purgatory somewhere

between them. In Dante's *Divina Commedia* for example, Hell is located at the centre of the Earth, directly below Jerusalem, while the Mountain of Purgatory ascends from the surface of the Earth towards Heaven. Heaven itself could be thought of as consisting of a variety of spheres:

based on the old (ultimately Aristotelian) Ptolomaic system which exerted a profound influence upon medieval mathematics, astronomy and cartography for fourteen centuries. According to this model the earth lay at the centre of a series of rotating spheres which contained the heavens, with an outer static sphere, the Empyrean or ultimate Heaven, God's sphere, the sphere of the Beatific Vision (Binski 1996: 168).

This coexistence of the spiritual and the material in Christianity was also present in ideas concerning the dead. As we have seen, each individual was thought to have both a spiritual and a material component which, though parted at death, would be reunited on the Day of Judgement. Christ:

ha de venir a la fin del siglo a judgar los vivos et los muertos por dar a cada uno gualardón o pena segunt su merescimiento, a cuya venida han todos de resucitar en cuerpos et en almas en aquellos mesmos que ante habían, et recebir juicio segunt las obras que fecieron de bien et de mal: et desta guisa habrán los buenos gloria sin fin, et los malos pena por siempre (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 39; PI, TIII).

Purgatory will be emptied, and the numbers of the elect and the damned will be fixed. The saved will enjoy God's presence and the powers of evil will be banished forever. In the words of Jeffrey Burton Russell, describing the mystery plays of the Middle Ages, 'Christ shuts the door of hell, locks it, and takes away the key' (1984: 273).

1.1. God and the Devil

Although at the end of time Christ would appear in glory and the Devil would be vanquished, both God and the Devil, as well as their respective realms in the afterlife, could be represented in a variety of fashions. The Christian God, being a Trinity, appears in the different aspects of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. He can, moreover, combine apparently contradictory functions. Christ is both victim and the King of Glory, 'aquél que espinas y lança, / açotes y clavos su sangre vertieron' (Rojas 1998: 75) and 'alto Señor y Dios soberano' (Rojas 1998: 344). That God is good is one of the basic tenets of Christianity and, 'por quanto El [es] esencialmente bueno, sienpre mueve al bien' (Córdoba 1964a: 24). As Celestina observes, this is the case with God's role as creator of the natural world, 'la natura ordenóla Dios, y Dios no hizo cosa mala' (Rojas 1998: 170).⁹ What Celestina cunningly omits to mention is that though all things were created good, many were created with the possibility that they could be directed towards evil, 'the perfection of the universe requires that there should be not only beings incorruptible, but also corruptible beings; so the perfection of the universe requires that there should be some which can fail in goodness, and thence it follows that sometimes they do fail' (Aquinas 2000: Ia, 48.2). Regarding the fact that an object in itself may be good, but be bad for a given individual or in certain circumstances, 'Así lo dixo el bienaventurado Isidro en tal forma: que nuestro Señor no crió ninguna cosa mala, e que si algunas cosas enpescibles hallamos, es por la culpa de nos mesmos, que no usamos dellas como devemos' (Valera 1959c: 60). Human beings are corruptible, but God continues to offer grace to those willing to accept it, 'el hombre, mientras bive es caminante e Dios nunca cesa de le dar buenos instintos spirituales de gracia, por los

⁹ These words are a close translation of St Jerome, 'Bonus est Deus, et omnia quae bonus fecit bona sint necesse est' (Maravall 1964: 134-135).

quales aborrece el mal e ama el bien, e si los sigue, será bienaventurado' (Córdoba 1964a: 31). God's goodness is most strikingly demonstrated in the fact that He sent His only son to redeem humanity, which, after the fall of Adam and Eve, was condemned to Hell because of its sinfulness. Christ's death on the cross was seen as reversing this sin, so that the original sin present in every human could be removed by baptism. This is not to say that the baptised could not, subsequently commit venial and mortal sins and thus be damned, but salvation was now a possibility.

The Devil however, was thought to be active in encouraging sin: in his twin roles of tempter and tormentor, he posed a constant threat to the souls of the living and meted out punishment to those souls condemned to eternal punishment. His power was certainly not absolute: he could be exorcised and would flee at the sight of the Cross. The *Libro de los exenplos* explains that, 'El diablo, porque es malo, / del ombre puede ser excomulgado' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 105). In this particular *exemplum* a saint is necessary to effect the exorcism of a woman who is possessed by the Devil. Another *exemplum* teaches that, 'La virtud de la cruz salva a los christianos / e algunas vezes a los paganos' (1961: 88) and describes how a Jew, seeking shelter for the night in a pagan temple, 'commequier que él non creya la cruz, por temor signosse con la señal de la cruz' (1961: 89). When he was discovered by a host of demons, 'falláronlo señalado de la señal de la cruz, e espantados, dieron grandes bozes' (1961: 90) and then disappeared.¹⁰ Nor could the Devil override an individual's free will, 'es de saber que el diablo, por mucho que tiempte al ombre, non puede por fuerça fazerle pecar, ni en alguna manera vencerlo, salvo quanto el mesmo ombre le dará lugar et consentirá' (*Arte* 1999: 88). Nonetheless he was most certainly not to be underestimated for, far from waiting patiently for the living to commit sins that would damn them in the afterlife, the

Devil actively intervened in the lives of the living, always ready to tempt the unwary and the sinful. As we have already seen, he or his minions were thought to be particularly active round the deathbed, inducing the dying to sin. If they refused to acknowledge the gravity of their illness, this too could be attributed to his involvement.

According to the *Arte de bien morir*:

muy pocos, avn de los rreligiosos y deuotos, se disponen para la muerte con tienpo y como conviene, porque cada vno piensa que ha de beujr luengamente, creyendo que nunca ha de morir. *Lo qual syn dubda vjene por engaño del demonjo* (*Arte 'E'* 1990: 193, my italics).

When Fernando 'el Católico' temporarily entertained a similar hope Galíndez de Carvajal ascribed it to the influence of the Devil, 'le tentó mucho el enemigo con incredulidad que le ponía de no morir tan presto, para que ni confesase ni rescibiese los Sacramentos' (1914: 562–563).

The *Malleus maleficarum* (c. 1484) taught that, 'Dios permite al Diablo poderes más amplios con respecto al acto venéreo que a ningún otro' (Russell 1978c: 249) and this would appear to be exemplified in *Celestina*. Diabolic intervention is presented in the most explicit terms in many medieval works, including the *Ars moriendi*, and would have been considered an unpleasant and threatening reality by Rojas's contemporaries. Deyermond suggests that Rojas shows, 'the Devil going about his work with the help of a witch, and operating through the material agency of three equivalent objects [*hilado*, *cordón* and *cadena*]' (1977: 10). Although *Celestina* conjured him into the *hilado* for her own purposes and in her invocation of him spoke of her 'mucho poder' (Rojas 1998: 148), ultimately it is she who is manipulated:

Celestina [...] thought she was in control [...]. But, like all witches, she was deceived: the Church taught that the effects thought by witches to be their own

¹⁰ For further methods of warding off the Devil see Russell (1984: 90–91).

achievement were really due to the independent action of devils, and that the witches were mere dupes (Deyermond 1977: 10).¹¹

The Devil offers empty rewards, though at first it may appear to his accomplice that he or she has struck a good bargain with him. Celestina is aware of his treacherous nature, threatening him, 'acusaré cruelmente tus continuas mentiras' (Rojas 1998: 148). Though we are never told how Claudina died, Dorothy Sherman Severin asks, 'Did Claudina in fact survive her Inquisitorial ordeals, or do they explain her premature death [...]?' (1995:28). If Claudina did die at the hands of the Inquisition this too should have warned Celestina since it, 'demuestra que el demonio abandona aun a sus más entusiastas adeptos' (Russell 1978c: 262). Masquerading under the name 'don Martín' he makes this clear to his dupe in Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, 'puniéndolo en la forca, vino don Martín et el omne le dixo quel acorriesse. Et don Martín le dixo que siempre él acorría a todos sus amigos fasta que los llegava a tal lugar' (1969: 226).¹² The conclusion drawn by Juan Manuel would be equally applicable to Celestina or any other sinner who had put their faith in the Devil:

Et assí perdió aquel omne el cuerpo et el alma, creyendo al Diablo et fiando dél. Et çierto sed que nunca omne dél creyó nin fió que non llegasse a aver mala postremería; sinon, parad mientes a todos los agoreros o sorteros o adevinos, o que fazen cercos o encantamientos et destas cosas qualesquier, et veredes que siempre ovieron malos acabamientos (1969: 226).¹³

The details of the death of Pope Paul II, who Valera alleged had been involved in black magic, suggest a diabolic influence:

¹¹ Russell examined Pármeno's comment regarding Celestina's activities, 'Y todo era burla y mentira' (Rojas 1998: 113), and concluded that, 'por engañadora y mentirosa que sea Celestina en general, en el caso de su profesión de hechicera es ella quien es víctima de las burlas o engaños del padre de la mentira' (1978c: 258).

¹² A variant of this can be found in the roughly contemporary *Libro de buen amor* in the 'enxiemplo del ladrón que fizo carta al diablo de su ánima' (Ruiz 1988: 410-414).

¹³ An interesting counterpoint to the Devil's attitude is provided by the Virgin Mary, who is portrayed in Berceo's *Milagros* as one of his main adversaries, constantly challenging him for possession of souls. When Mary's devotee is about to be hanged, she does not abandon him, 'La Madre gloriosa, duecha de acorrer, / qe suele a sus siervos ennas cuitas valer/ [...] Metióli so los pies do estava colgado / las sus manos preciosas, tóvolo alleviado' (1971: 71). She thus secures his salvation, since as a result of his

siempre se ejercitó en cosas vanas, [...] e procuraba tener cerca de sí nigrománticos e fechiceros; el qual, como fuese muy hermoso de gesto, e de cuerpo muy grande e muy sano, sin enfermedad alguna, la noche que murió fue fallado en su cama tan pequeño e tan flaco, como de un mozo pequeño de diez o doce años, todo consumido e ferido el rostro e la cabeza en muchos lugares e los huesos de tal manera como si fuesen quemados en fuego; el qual se afirma tener en un anillo un espíritu familiar, por el qual muchas cosas sabía. E muerto así el Padre Santo, los suyos dieron muy gran prisa a su enterramiento, porque no fuese a todos manifiesta la nueva forma de su muerte (Valera 1914: 62).

In particular the apparent burning of his bones may be understood as a sign that he had been claimed by the Devil. In one *exemplum* a sinful bishop also died suddenly, 'murió muerte supitánea' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 313) and was burned by otherworldly fire, though in this case after burial, 'todos vieron salir fuego del sepulcro, e tanto duró que quemó los huessos e consumió el sepulcro' (1961: 313). Here the fire is clearly understood to signify the eternal pains being suffered by his soul, 'es lo que el ánima que vive e sienpre padesçe por su pecado sy los huessos que non sienten son quemados con tanto tormento de fuego' (1961: 313), for as we shall see, fire was one of the main torments of Hell. The Devil's actions in *Celestina* are therefore in line with the tradition which depicts him duping and subsequently betraying those who put their trust in him: he gives Celestina, his 'más conocida cliéntula' (Rojas 1998: 147), her success with Melibea and she receives a gold chain, but her true reward follows soon after and in such a fashion that she drags the lovers with her. Celestina's bargain with the Devil is that once he arranges that Melibea, 'despedida toda honestidad, se descubra a mí y me galardone mis passos y mensaje' (1998: 148), Celestina will be wholly his, 'y esto hecho pide y demanda de mí a tu voluntad' (1998: 148). It would seem that the Devil is far from tardy for within twenty-four hours of Melibea revealing her love to Celestina,

gratitude for her intervention the man 'mejoró en su vida, partióse de follía' (1971: 72). This *exemplum* also appears twice in Sánchez de Vercial's collection (1961: 59 & 209).

the latter is dead, her soul possibly taken by him in payment for services rendered.¹⁴ 139

Yet it is not only those who deliberately invoke the Devil who invite his interference in their lives: foolish and careless words may be as effective as Celestina's magic. Sánchez de Vercial relates the *exemplum* of a priest who called for his servant to undo his shoe-straps, '¡Ven acá, diablo, descálcame!' (1961: 103), but in so doing inadvertently invoked the Devil, who promptly answered the summons. Though the priest managed to banish the Devil, 'quedaron la mayor parte de las correas sueltas, por lo qual se puede entender que el diablo tan presto está en los fechos corporales commo en nuestros pensamientos por muchas assechanças' (1961: 103).¹⁵ While many critics have studied Celestina's spells, her involvement with the Devil and the assistance he provides her in the seduction of Melibea (Deyermond 1977, Russell 1978c, Severin 1995, among others), Calisto's responsibility for summoning the Devil has received little attention. On only the third occasion on which he speaks to Sempronio, he curses him and combines the curse with an invocation of the Devil, '¡Ansí los diablos te ganen!, ansí por infortunio arrebatado perezcas, o perpetuo intolerable tormento consigas, el qual en grado incomparablemente a la penosa y desastrada muerte que spero traspasa' (Rojas 1998: 87-88). As far as we know, Sempronio dies an unconfessed murderer, so there is a strong possibility that his soul is won by devils and that he will therefore attain 'perpetuo intolerable tormento', furthermore, his death exceeds Calisto's in its ignominy: whereas Calisto falls to his death, Sempronio falls and is also executed, which increases the stigma significantly, even if not 'incomparablemente'. Calisto thus inadvertently predicts both his own and Sempronio's 'penosa y desastrada

¹⁴ Melibea confesses to Celestina that she loves Calisto in Act X and Celestina arranges that the lovers should meet that very night (1998: 245-247). Both the assignation and Celestina's murder take place in Act XII.

¹⁵ See also Russell (1984: 77).

muerte' and if this part of his curse comes true, it may be that the part concerning the devils does too. Soon afterwards he again consigns Sempronio to the Devil, '¡Ve con el diablo!' (1998: 89). Sempronio, underestimating the powers of the Devil murmurs, 'No creo según pienso, yr conmigo el que contigo queda' (1998: 89). As numerous *exempla* make clear, the Devil had a large number of assistants and the quantities of demons available is suggested in Celestina's description of Claudina's magic powers, 'los mismos diablos [...] Tumbando venían unos sobre otros a su llamado' (Rojas 1998: 197). Each person was thought to have one devil (and one angel) devoted particularly to securing their soul, though one or the other might be in the ascendant (see Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 164 & 256-257). The numbers of devils present in any given situation were thought to vary according to the level of sanctity of the individuals concerned. In one *exemplum* a devil explains that more of the infernal hordes are posted wherever resistance is stiffer, 'e non pueden ser vençidos salvo por muchos' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 319). Once the soul had fallen into temptation, fewer devils would be required to maintain them in sin. Russell seems to have fallen into the same error as Sempronio when he suggests that Celestina, having left the Devil and the skein at Melibea's house, is 'desprovista de la ayuda demoníaca' (1978c: 265): the Devil or his minions were never absent from any situation where they believed their intervention could secure a soul. Sempronio, despite having dismissed Calisto's imprecations lightly, nonetheless wonders, as he vacillates regarding whether or not to enter Calisto's room, whether he is being duped, 'si entretanto se matare, muera. Quiçá con algo me quedaré que otro no lo sabe, con que mude el pelo malo. Aunque malo es esperar salud en muerte ajena. Y quiçá me engaña el diablo, y si muere, matarme han' (Rojas 1998: 90). It seems more than coincidence that having been sent out of the room in the company of the Devil, Sempronio now feels that a demonic presence may be at work. He decides to enter and

attempt to mitigate Calisto's love-sickness: failing to persuade him to foreswear love, he promises that Celestina will secure Melibea for him. Celestina, a witch in league with the Devil is thus introduced into Calisto's life. Could it be that the Devil, far from prompting Sempronio to leave Calisto alone, wanted him to enter and introduce Calisto and Celestina? It would seem that Sempronio becomes sure of this only when he begins to suspect that Celestina is tricking him, 'Mala vieja falsa es ésta; el diablo me metió con ella' (1998: 174). As Severin has observed, 'Sempronio realises too late that it is the Devil who has engineered his business with Celestina. But although he says he should flee from her, greed and the promise of gain keep him tied to her' (1995: 23). Alternatively, if Sempronio makes the reference to the Devil without taking it seriously and the reader/listener is nonetheless aware of the reality of the Devil's involvement in Sempronio's affairs, Rojas's use of this phrase would be an example of dramatic irony. Yet the Devil 'engineered his business with Celestina' only after Calisto had invoked him. It would seem that although 'Celestina unleashes a force of evil with her diabolic pact' (Severin 1995: 10), she is not the first to do so.

In both cases the Devil is assisted by women, directly when invoked by Celestina and indirectly through Melibea's beauty, which leads Calisto into lust, heresy and diabolic invocations. Elicia's curse, the 'vehemence and detail [of which] transform words seemingly spoken as lament into magic words whose destructive force is realized, very possibly, through diabolic intervention' (Haywood 2001: 88), may also have provided an opportunity for the Devil. Tempting men by appearing as a woman, or through the agency of a woman, was considered one of the favourite methods utilised by the Devil. One explanation of woman's creation from Adam's rib links women, the Devil and the temptation of men via the imagery of the hunt:

porque Dios sabía que el maldito e cruel caçador Satanás avía de hazer armadijo con la muger para engañar al varón, hizo la muger de costilla con que suelen los caçadores armar a los páxaros; e en esto avisaba a Adán que se guardase de caer en esta costilla. Do dize Sant Ambrosio que la muger es apta armadura para tomar las ánimas. [...] las malas son ballesta de Cupido, que es dios de amor, e tiran saetas de fortibles ojadas e de blandas palabras para herir los coraçones de los varones e arrendarlos (Córdoba 1964b: 73).¹⁶

Numerous *exempla* demonstrate how women are the tools of Satan. He can use them effectively against the Christian even if other methods of temptation have failed, 'el diablo, de que non puede matar al christiano, muéstrale [...] la mugier fermossa para que allí lo enforque e mate' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 115). The woman who seeks to augment her beauty artificially is therefore particularly criticised by the moralist, 'del diablo es la mugier / que se afeyta por bien paresçer' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 233). Sempronio simply follows in this tradition when, in his diatribe against women, he argues that they are, and always have been, the pawns of the Devil, 'Por ellas es dicho: arma del diablo, cabeça de peccado, destrución de paraýso' (Rojas 1998: 97-98). Celestina herself is proof in support of this tradition, but it should be noted that the men, having free will, are not without blame: Calisto, for example, on hearing that Celestina is an 'hechizera, astuta, sagaz en quantas maldades hay' (1998: 103) asks eagerly, '¿PodrÍala yo hablar?' (1998: 104), and, as we have seen, was the first character to call on the Devil for assistance. Maravall, basing himself on Pármeno's exclamation on seeing Calisto kneel before Celestina, 'Deshecho es, vencido es, caýdo es; no es capaz de ninguna redención ni consejo ni esfuerço' (Rojas 1998: 116-117), asked '¿Quiere ello decir que el mal anula la capacidad de reacción del libre albedrío y su posibilidad de salvación? [...] Rojas plantea el tema según un cierto determinismo moral' (1964: 23). As we have already seen however, Calisto has already made a number of crucial choices before his first encounter with Celestina. As one of Sánchez de Vercial's

exempla demonstrates, it was recognised that once one starts on a sinful course of action, it is increasingly difficult to desist:

es grave de quitarsse el ombre de la mala costunbre; por ende non deve el ombre de estar mucho en pecado mas lo más aýna que podiere lo lançe de ssý porque lo que es voluntad non se torne en uso nescessario (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 81).

Pármeno's exclamation may therefore be understood, not as implying that Calisto never had free will, but rather as an indication of Pármeno's realisation that henceforth it will be impossible, given Calisto's self-imposed subjection to Celestina and the latter's skill, for Calisto to be free of sin.

1.2. Heaven, Hell and Purgatory

Heaven, being the home of the just and good God, was unattainable by those who had yielded to the temptings of the Devil, at least until they had been cleansed of their sins. Only those in a state of exceptional sinlessness could expect to bypass Purgatory and attain Heaven immediately after death. Those who had just been baptised fell into this category, as baptism removed all the sins which had occurred before it was administered. This applied both to adults and children who died after baptism, but before they had had a chance to sin, 'si el niño que batean ante que hubie pecar muere, éste va derechamente a paraíso, sin haber pena ninguna en purgatorio' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 123; PI, TIV, Ley LXV). Villena used this fact to console Juan Fernández de Valera, reminding him that children were, 'más seguros de la salvación suya, non infectos aún de pecados, sola la original culpa denigrando su nasçimiento, cuya ofuscaçión el sacramental bautismo tiene detegida' (1976: 70). Also exempt from the need to pass through Purgatory were crusaders, those who assisted them and martyrs:

¹⁶ The Devil is not explicitly depicted as a bird-catcher in *Celestina*, but the metaphor of the hunt of love

aquél que sofriese muerte, o martirio o tormento por amor de Nuestro Señor Iesu Cristo: o del que tomase la cruz en remisión de sus pecados yendo contra los enemigos de la fe, o ayudando de su haber a los que hi fuesen, o enviando otro por sí en su lugar, segunt lo mandase aquél que lo hobiese cruzado: ca éste atal por la confesión sóla et por la fuerza de la cruz va derechamente a paraíso, et non ha otra pena en purgatorio (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 123; PI, TIV, Ley LXV).

Thus Mena could say of those who died in the Reconquest, 'los nuestros muriendo bivían / por gloria en los çielos y fama en la tierra' (1997: 184). They gained eternal life in Heaven and the *vida de la fama* prized by the *defensores*.

The images used to describe Heaven varied, but that they did so should not lead us to suppose that there was confusion concerning the nature of Heaven either among medieval Christians or in the Bible, from which many of the images were drawn, rather both were striving to explain in metaphors what could only be truly understood by the souls of the blessed dead. It was thought that the soul was judged immediately after death and assigned a place in either Heaven, Hell or Purgatory and that there would be a final Day of Judgement when all the souls would be judged and their fates decided for all time. Given this, and the fact that God is often referred to in the Bible as a judge (see, for instance, Acts 10.42), Heaven was at times portrayed as a law-court.

Fernando de Rojas's last will and testament, made in 1541, begins with a description of God's judgement of the dead:

ante la potencia de Dios e divinal trono donde a de juzgar los bivos y los muertos, [...] todos avemos de parescer a dar razón cada uno de sus obras y según sus merecimientos será dado galardón: a los buenos que bien obraren la gloria, donde los santos justos hazen su morada, y a los malos que mal obraren condenación perpetua e pena perdurable (Valle Lersundi 1929: 366).

Years earlier, in *Celestina*, he had evoked this legalistic view of God. Calisto states that

the earthly judge who condemned Sempronio and Pármemo should remember 'que ay sindicado en el cielo y en la tierra. Assí que a Dios y al rey serás reo' (Rojas 1998: 290).¹⁷ The conjunction of God and King in the context of justice reminds us of Alfonso X's view that the king's role was to administer God's justice (in the secular sphere) on Earth. The earthly and the sacred forms of justice were very closely associated in the medieval mind. While the monarch was thought to represent God's justice on earth, it was just as acceptable to picture God's justice in terms of the contemporary legal system:

haverá a nuestro Señor Dios por juez para *sentençiar*, e al maligno espíritu por *auctor demandante*, e el ánima será el *reo defendiente*; *abogados* della la Virgen sin manzilla, santos e santas e los ángeles de paraíso; *abogados* de Sathanás será la corte infernal; *procurador* del ánima el ángel a quien de su corazón fue encomendada; *contrario procurador* el enemigo que *pone la demanda*; los *testigos* del ánima serán Dios e el ángel e su conçeñcia; los *testigos* del ángel malo serán las obras malas e malos fechos que mientra bivió obró e cometió; el *proceso* del ánima será la vida e el tiempo como lo gastó; *notario* será el mundo do lo cometió; la *sentencia* o será ingente adañación, o eterna salvaçión, do toda *apellaçión* çesará (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 139, my italics).

This version of Heaven, showing the orderly fulfilment of God's justice was complemented by others.

Since an integral part of the role of the King was the dispensation of justice, the roles of King and Judge could be combined, 'en el reino celestial el rey Jesucristo es juez, e la Virgen reina e abogada' (Córdoba 1964b: 88). Sometimes the emphasis was on Heaven primarily as a King or Emperor's court: Fray Martín de Córdoba alludes to Augustine's use of this metaphor, 'segund dize Sant Agustín en el tercero libro de la Trinidad, non se faze nada en este mundo que del palacio del alto Enperador, que es Dios, non sea o mandado o permitido' (1964a: 9). This metaphor emphasises God's

¹⁷ The word 'sindicado' is explained by Russell as 'Del bajo latín *syndicus*, "abogado o representante de una ciudad"' (1978b :340n).

omnipotence since the King or Emperor of Heaven's jurisdiction and powers are comparable to those of an earthly ruler, but infinitely greater. Villena assumes on the basis of her extreme youth that Juan Fernández's daughter, Leonor, is in Heaven, 'Durmió con sus padres en la ynfancia suya, çierta su salvaçión; partida de la terrena silva de su ynoçençia, en la fe de los padres e universal eclesia, a las çélicas boló alturas de natural dolençia' (1976: 83). This being so, she is now well-placed to assist her surviving relatives:

agora pasada a mejor vida e colocada en la çelestial casa, non solamente allegada al serviçio del rey peremne, mas aun fecha reyna, conregnante con la turba bienaventurada, gerarchía de todos los bienes sobreabundosa, por dones beatíficos potente de subvenir con su interçesión a vuestras miserias mundanas, humanas e comunes a los bivientes en esta lacrimosa valle çintral [...]. Ésta tened por interçesora, e las vuestras a ella vos encomendat oraçiones, a Dios agradeçiendo que el fructo de vuestro vientre ya posee la gloria que esperáys poseer (1976: 97-98).

Villena's vision of Heaven is that of an earthly royal court and he argues that just as Juan Fernández would, 'si la vuestra creçiera fija e la viérades en la casa del rey nuestro señor terreno colocada, muy allegada al serviçio suyo, abundada de riquezas e poderosa de vos ayudar, con él vos gratificara e tovier a letabundo pagado' (1976: 97), so should he rejoice to see her in the house of the King of Heaven. The parallel between God and the monarch was also made in court pageantry. On 6 June 1428, the day after the end of the Corpus Christi celebrations, Juan II appeared in an *invención* 'as God the Father and his knightly companions as the twelve apostles, all wearing their haloes, and each one bearing the name of the saint he personified' (MacKay 1985: 38). As in an earthly court, the heavenly monarch was praised for his power, 'magestad estuporosa, / incompressa e poderosa' (Santillana 1988: 371) and was surrounded by a complex hierarchy of

retainers and courtiers, 'la sacra gerarchía' (Santillana 1988: 365).¹⁸ The dead, each with their own designated seat, perpetually adore God, as alluded to by Calisto, 'si Dios me diesse en el cielo la silla sobre sus santos, no lo ternía por tanta felicidad' (Rojas 1998: 87), but he does so only in order to praise Melibea, the sight of whom he prefers to the Beatific Vision. The worldly king would have been surrounded by a blaze of colour and finery and accompanied by music. Descriptions of Heaven speak of its beauty and light, 'La su claridad vençía / a todos otros clarores' (Santillana 1988: 365) and of the joy and music, 'Inçessante el armonía' (Santillana 1988: 365), which fill Heaven. Also part of the pageantry of court life were banquets, and these too are described as taking place in Heaven, in Matthew 8.11 and Luke 14.15-24. It is perhaps to this aspect of the biblical description of Heaven that Celestina alludes when she urges Pármemo and Sempronio to seat themselves at the dinner-table, 'harto lugar ay para todos, a Dios gracias. Tanto nos diessen del paraíso, quando allá vamos' (Rojas 1998: 224).

As in the case of a king's court, Heaven might be located within a city and life could be thought of as a road, 'Este mundo es el camino / para el otro' (Manrique 1985: 150), with the heavenly city the destination for the righteous traveller. Sánchez de Vercial relates an *exemplum* where some travellers ask an old man 'por do yrían más ayna a la cibdat' (1961: 321). He replies, 'que por el vado que era más breve camino bien por dos millas, pero que más ayna podrían yr por la puente' (1961: 321). This seems illogical to some of the travellers, who think they will take the shorter route. As a result 'unos se afogaron en el rrío, e otros perdieron los cavallos e las cargas, e otros mojados, otros lloravan lo que perdieron' (1961: 321). The moral of the *exemplum* is

¹⁸ These and following quotations from Santillana are taken from his *Canonización de los bienaventurados sanctos, maestre Viçente Ferrer, predicador, e maestre Pedro de Villacreçes, frayre*

provided by the statement, 'Más vale la carrera lengua que va al paraíso que la breve al infierno' (1961: 321). Given this explicitly theological meaning for the *exemplum*, it seems licit to suppose that the various categories of woes suffered by the travellers who took the shorter route can represent those who die in a state of sin and those who, after falling into various degrees of sin are recalled to the path of righteousness. The fact that the travellers who take the correct path pass over a bridge, while those in error are swept away by a river recalls the motif of the bridge to the other world, an 'imagen [...] antiquísima – se la puede hallar en las más antiguas historias persas, celtas, musulmanas y cristianas' (Guance 1998: 189). The image of the city of God, 'aquella espaciosa y más que espaciosa ciutat de nuestro Dios' (Manrique 1991b) mentioned by the Protonotario Lucena had, of course, been used by St Augustine in his *City of God* and:

The master-image of this urban paradise was of course the Heavenly Jerusalem, presented to us as a type for the ultimate arrangement of human spiritual affairs in the Old Testament Books of Enoch, Esdras and Baruch, and in the Revelation of St John, chapter 21 (Binski 1996: 167).

It is precisely to this latter biblical source that Fray Juan de Alarcón alludes when he describes how God, 'alunbra el otro [mundo] o el cielo, como dezía en el Apocalipsis que aquella ciudad de paraíso non ha menester sol nin luna, ca Dios por sí mesmo la alunbra' (1964: 159). Diego de Valera alludes to the heavenly city somewhat obliquely when in the *Breviloquio de virtudes* he advises don Rodrigo Pimentel to have 'discreta esperança de ser cibdadano de aquella cibdad donde se dan los galardones a todos segund los merescen' (1959a: 147).¹⁹

A bucolic, as opposed to the other, more urban images of Heaven, was provided by that of the garden. In Christian iconography it could represent both the Garden of

Eden and Heaven:

Paradise, a word originally from Persian and Hebrew, means a walled garden, and by it Christianity meant two separate but frequently confused ideas: the earthly Paradise of Eden, in the east, and the celestial 'Edenic' Paradise of Heaven (Binski 1996: 166).²⁰

The primary image of Heaven in *Celestina* is that of the *locus amoenus*. Melibea's garden, 'aquel paraíso dulce' (Rojas 1998: 292), like the Christian tradition, combines elements of both paradises.²¹ Her walled garden is simultaneously an inversion of the heavenly garden (since the object of adoration is Melibea, not the Christian God) and another Garden of Eden where innocence is lost. The image of the garden as the dwelling-place of the deity is present in the opening words of *Celestina*: it is in the garden that Calisto sees Melibea and exclaims, 'En esto veo, Melibea, la grandeza de Dios' (1998: 85) and here that he, who has declared 'Melibea es mi dios' (1998: 250), is granted a secular version of the heavenly vision.²² Like other courtly lovers he has replaced the desire for the heavenly garden and union with God for that of the earthly garden and sexual union with the beloved. The imagery of Eden, the earthly Paradise, is even stronger. It is in her garden that Melibea consumes the 'ponçofioso bocado' (1998: 238), though in her case this is the 'vista de su presencia de aquel cavallero' (1998: 238) rather than the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Whereas in the Garden of Adam and Eve it was the serpent who enticed humanity to sin and the pleasures of the flesh, in Melibea's case the snake is present in the 'azeyte serpentino' (1998: 146), the main

¹⁹ María Rosa Lida de Malkiel has observed the heavenly characteristics of the oriental cities described in the *Libro de Alexandre* (1956: 375).

²⁰ For a resumé of various medieval descriptions of the Garden of Eden, its content and location, see Patch (1950: 134-174).

²¹ The garden can be read in other ways. F. M. Weinberg believes that, 'The fortress, the garden wall and the locked door, represent Melibea's personal integrity, her honor, her class, her body as an illusory paradise, in a symbolic complex very reminiscent of the *Romant de la rose*. The flower garden is a widespread euphemism for the female sexual organs' (1971: 138). See Theodore L. Kassier for the use of nature and garden imagery in *cancionero* poetry (1976: 4-5, 13-18).

²² I leave aside the question of the location of the lovers' meeting in the original Act I, prior to Fernando de Rojas's additions. Martín de Riquer (1957) has suggested that it may originally have taken place in a church.

ingredient of the *philocaptio* which brings about her sexual initiation. Areúsa makes direct reference to the ancestors of the human race, commenting, 'al fin todos somos hijos de Adam y Eva' (1998: 229). She is attempting to assert her equality with the lovers of higher social status: the reader may conclude that they are indeed equal, in their fallen condition and lust. Sempronio had already warned Calisto that Melibea was as dangerous as Eve, 'No has rezado en la festividad de San Juan, do dize: [...] ésta es la mujer, antigua malicia que a Adam echó de los deleytes de paraíso, ésta el linaje humano metió en el infierno' (1998: 98). In the case of both Melibea and Calisto their spiritual fall and death are made physical reality. In the Bible the result of yielding to temptation was the Fall. God, in casting out Adam and Eve from the Garden, made them subject to Death and Hell.

Hell, prior to the Crucifixion, had contained all the dead, though the good souls were placed in the *limbus patrum*, a relatively painless antechamber to Hell, where they suffered only the privation of the Beatific Vision.²³ Christ in the Harrowing of Hell, 'fue después de su muerte a quebrantar los infiernos et a destruir el poder del diablo' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 123; PI, TIV, Ley LXV). The incident of the Harrowing was based on Acts 2.31, Romans 10.7, the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, and Matthew 12.40, which relates that Christ would spend three days and nights in the heart of the Earth, just as Jonah had spent three days inside the whale (Le Goff 1981: 67-68). As a result of the comparison made in this last passage, the whale became 'a symbol (through Jonah) of the yawning mouth of hell; it is identified with Leviathan' (Russell 1984: 67n). Hell was thought to be entered by way of a pair of colossal jaws and in addition to the association with Jonah, the 'ultimate model for this huge all-devouring mouth was the monster Leviathan, in Job 41, as understood and passed down to the Latin Middle

Ages by texts like Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*' (Binski 1996: 172). After the Harrowing the limits to the Devil's power were clear: he was subject to God's will and could no longer lay claim to the souls of the righteous. Hell, however, would not again lose any of its prisoners, and for them there was the torture of the knowledge of the 'duramiento para siempre sin fin que han de fazer en aquel mal lugar do son encerrados, que ya son ciertos que nunca de aquel lugar han de ser librados' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 227).

As in the case of Heaven, Hell reflects the characteristics of its inhabitants, but, by contrast with Heaven, is usually portrayed as dark, 'tan tenebrosa de tiniebras tan espesas, que se pueden palpar' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 228); fiery, containing 'fuego que se nunca amata' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 228) into which the souls of the damned were thrown (Matthew 13.49-50, Matthew 25.41 & Mark 9.44); noisy, ringing with 'roídos, voces e aullidos, silvos e bramidos, llantos e grandes gemidos' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 228-229) as those in Hell wail and gnash their teeth (Matthew 25.30); stinking with a 'gran fedor [...] tal que non se puede sufrir' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 228); chaotic in contrast to the jubilant ranks of the good angels and the saved in Heaven, and buried below the ground in 'los abismos, que es la más fonda parte de la tierra' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 228), as it appears in the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16.19-31).²⁴

²³ The *limbus parvulorum* which received unbaptised infants continued in use after the Harrowing.

²⁴ I have taken a number of quotations from the same description by Fernández de Minaya to demonstrate that these characteristics of Hell were integral and integrated parts of the conception of Hell. His graphic description also includes many other features, including fierce animals, intolerable cold and bridges over rivers filled with snakes. For further details of how these elements are used in descriptions of the afterlife, see Patch (1950). Descriptions of Hell are many and vivid and, according to Alberto Tenenti, unlike those of Heaven inasmuch as, 'Les auteurs ecclésiastiques orthodoxes ne sont pas bien à l'aise quand ils décrivent la vie des bienheureux, et les images dont ils se servent sont beaucoup moins efficaces que celles de l'enfer' (1952: 73).

A description of Hell is provided by Celestina when she invokes 'triste Plutón' (1998: 147), Lord of the Underworld. Though some of the terminology is classical (including the name 'Plutón' and references to the Furies and Harpies), there are elements which draw on the Judeo-Christian tradition, such as the opening description of Satan as:

señor de la profundidad infernal, emperador de la corte dañada, capitán sobervio de los condenados ángeles, señor de los sulfuros fuegos que los hervientes étnicos montes manan, governador y veedor de los tormentos y atormentadores de las pecadoras ánimas (1998: 147).²⁵

Just as Heaven could be conceived of as a court, where God was the King and there were hierarchies among the saints and angels, so Hell, its counter-image and home of the fallen angels (devils) was also thought of in these terms. Here Satan presides over his fiery court and oversees the tormenting of the souls of the damned. In terms of its spatial location, Hell was pictured as being located deep beneath the earth, though occasionally the living were made aware of its presence by the fire which spewed forth from its sulphurous depths.²⁶ Melibea places Hell at the centre of the Earth in her appeal to God, whom 'los cielos, mar y tierra, con los infernales centros obedescen' (1998: 238).

Despite the fact that those in Hell are separated from God and 'la vista de Dios, que para siempre son privados de nunca le ver' (Fernández de Minaya 1964a: 227), God

²⁵ As Russell has observed, it is 'evidente que a quien conjura Celestina es a Satanás, ligeramente disfrazado bajo una capa clásica' (1978c: 261). Robert Lima, however, argues that, 'The deity that Celestina deals with is the pagan Pluto not the Satan of Christianity' (1998: 224) and he asserts that, 'Russell and others [...] err by referring to Pluto as "el diablo" or "el demonio", which is an inexplicable transposition of the pagan god who rules the classical Underworld to the Devil, who rules the Christian Hell. There is no evidence in the text to warrant [this] interpretation' (1998: 231n). Celestina nonetheless later describes the entity she has invoked in precisely those terms, 'Por aquí anda el diablo aparejando oportunidad' (1998: 153) and 'diablo a quien yo conjuré' (1998: 171). Lima explains such references as involving 'a usage of classical origin [...] employed in the sense of the popular parlance of the era' (1998: 228).

²⁶ As is perhaps suggested by Celestina's reference to 'étnicos montes', Mount Etna had an 'image proprement infernale' (Le Goff 1981: 20).

is nonetheless aware of all that occurs there and permits it to happen: it could not be otherwise given the Christian conception of an omniscient, omnipotent God. Given God's role as Judge, it would have been inconceivable for sin not to have been punished. The punishments inflicted on the damned were thought of as a reality, not mere metaphor, as was also the case for the pains of Purgatory. The manner in which spiritual beings such as souls could suffer physically was something of a theological problem, but it was settled by giving them a kind of physical existence, 'Les âmes séparées furent dotées d'une matérialité *sui generis* et les peines du Purgatoire purent ainsi les tourmenter comme corporellement' (Le Goff 1981: 16). Though chaotic compared to Heaven, Hell was frequently conceived of as being divided into discrete areas where specific types of sinner could be punished. This is the case in Dante's *Inferno*. As in the medieval judicial system, where punishments were sometimes chosen to reflect the nature of the crime committed, the torments meted out in Hell were often described as reflecting the sins they punished. In one *exemplum* a rich man stipulated that he be buried with his treasure: his unscrupulous relatives, on opening the tomb to extract his riches found that, 'los príncipes del infierno lançavan oro de dentro por la garganta del muerto' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 110). This fitting of sin to punishment was sometimes described so minutely that the reader can almost see the sinful riches and pleasures metamorphose into the corresponding punishments, revealing the transitory, deceptive nature of worldly pleasures:

por el vino específero que acá bevía agora le escancian fiel de dragones; por las esquisitas viandas masca veninos de asprios (horribles serpientes); por la púrpura viste cota de fuego; por el biso así ásperos e mordientes gusanos; por los polidos donzeles que las viandas ministravan e sotilmente cortavan las aves padece inopinadas fealdades; los instrumentos músicos agora son crueles gemidos (Córdoba 1964a: 58).

A similar process is undergone by the lover's *locus amoenus* in *Triste*

deleytación, which is explicitly metamorphosed into its hellish counterpart.²⁷ Razón, in her attempt to convince Voluntat of the illusory nature of the pleasures of love, describes a beautiful garden in the palace of Love. It contains 'cantos jnfinitos, con entonada armonía. Alí flores odoríficas de jnnumerables colores [...], arbolles [...] muy deleytosos, con voces de aves, con multitud de tenores, alí tanta cantidat de plazerres y alegrías, que ser alí el paraíso judicarías' (1983: 23). Like the real Paradise it is a place of harmony, music and sweet fragrances but Razón continues by describing its rapid and sinister transformation:

toda aquella deleytación y claredat absentada, y los cantos y tenores en congoxas y jemidos convertidos, los arbolles y las flores en serpientes capos mudados, el palacio preparado una selba muy scura, con tanta de tenebrura que no se puede sofrir, que alí syenten grandes gritos de diuersos animales, alí cadenas, martillos, alí çepos e grillones, alí fuego y alquitrán, vna terrible edor, alí toda cosa nozible e desplaziente era conjunta. Camino para la salida no se ffalla, es numero jnfinito las jentes que alí se quexan (1983: 23-24).

From the paradisical, the setting becomes diabolical: music is replaced by noise, delicious odours by a terrible stench and all is obscured by darkness. Such a transformation of a garden by love is also present in Santillana's *Sueño*. Here too there are delightful smells and beautiful music:

el qual jardín me cobría
con sombra de olientes flores,
do çendraván ruyseñores
la perfecta melodía (1988: 117).

But soon a 'nublosa obscuridad' (1988: 118) darkens the garden, the trees change into 'troncos fieros, nudosos' (1988: 119) and the delightful birds become 'áspides poçoñosos' (1988: 119). In particular a harp is transformed into a snake which 'con ravia viperosa / mordió mi siniestro lado' (1988: 119). Though this is a dream-vision, the snake's wounding of the protagonist's left side by the snake prefigures the wound of

²⁷ For an analysis of this episode as topification allegory see Haywood (2000a: 419-421, 423-425).

love he will later receive.²⁸ In *Siervo libre de amor* the protagonist, rejected in love, causes his environment to change, 'El lindo arrayán, consagrado a la deesa Venus [...] en punto que sobre mí tendió las verdes ramas, fue despojado de su vestidura [...] las ledas aves gritaderas mudaron los sus dulces cantos en gritos e pasibles lays' (Rodríguez del Padrón 1986: 76). What is perhaps most striking about the scene in *Triste deleytación*, in contrast to the transformations in the *Sueño* or *Siervo libre*, is that the garden disappears and is replaced by what is clearly Hell, not simply a desolate version of a formerly delightful garden. That this is Hell is indicated by the presence of torments such as fire and chains and the fact that the lover is unable to leave and is joined by others.

Melibea's garden too may be imbued with this hellish, as opposed to merely desolate, aspect. As we have seen, it functions as a symbol of both the earthly and heavenly Paradises. After its transformation it retains this duality and can be read both as Hell and as a symbol of the World.²⁹ In the words of the bereaved Pleberio, '*hac lacrimarum valle*' (Rojas 1998: 343), its illusory pleasures revealed for what they truly are (Haywood 2001: 87), is a 'prado lleno de serpientes' (Rojas 1998: 338).³⁰ In Elicia's curse on the lovers it is the very grass where they took their pleasures that is converted into snakes, 'las yervas deleytosas donde tomáys los hurtados solazes se conviertan en culebras' (1998: 298).³¹ The snake, which both caused Melibea's love and was invoked to destroy it, can be interpreted as representing the torments both of earthly love and

²⁸ For Santillana's debt to Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* (where the heroine dreams of being bitten by a snake while lying in a garden) and to the *Corbaccio*, see Post (1915: 208-209). With regard to the transformed garden, Regula Rohland de Langbehn mentions *Triste deleytación*'s debt to Santillana's *Sueño* and thus, indirectly to the *Fiammetta* (Triste 1983: xxiv).

²⁹ See Roger Boase 1980 (17-21) for a brief description of the *locus amoenus*, its varying symbolisms and transformations.

³⁰ Peter N. Dunn has noted that the phrase *in hac lacrymarum valle* is to be found in the *Salve regina*, sung at Compline (1975: 166).

Hell. As Alan Deyermond (1977) has demonstrated, the snake is a demonic creature and through its oil and transference into a number of serpent-shaped objects, Satan takes possession of many of *Celestina's* characters. Its symbolism in the bestiary make it particularly appropriate to represent the dangers of sexual love (see Deyermond 1978) and 'in the Middle Ages Adam's downfall was popularly attributed to the sin of concupiscence, rather than to his pride or intellectual curiosity' (Boase 1980: 19). In Eden carnal love was only indulged in after the serpent (Satan) had tempted Adam and Eve and though they enjoyed the garden for a short while longer, they were soon ejected into a barren wilderness by God.³² The close link between the World, lust and the snake is demonstrated in medieval iconography:

early twelfth-century sculptures in the porch of the Cluniac Priory at Moissac in France show the punishments of *Luxuria* (unchastity) in the form of a naked woman tormented by toads and snakes. And the same theme [...] recurs later [...] in the image of *Frau Welt* as a human equivalent to Eve's rotten apple, superficially plausible and tempting but eaten from behind and from within by worms, as at Worms Cathedral in the fourteenth century (Binski 1996: 139).

The snake (or Devil), which in the garden acted as tempter, can also fulfil the Devil's other role: that of tormentor. Melibea's sufferings are rather similar to those of *Luxuria* and *Frau Welt*: having acknowledged that the sight of Calisto was a 'ponçoñoso bocado' (Rojas 1998: 238) she declares 'comen este corazón serpientes dentro de mi cuerpo' (1998: 239). Here snakes are being used to describe the torments of love, yet they may also prefigure the tortures which are inflicted on the damned in Hell. The worm or snake as a torment for the damned seems to derive from Isaiah 66.24 and Mark 9.44-48 (Binski 1996: 175).³³ The snake could be used as a torment for any category of sinner: in one of Sánchez de Vercial's *exempla* we learn that as two souls, whose sins

³¹ See George A. Shipley (1974: 292-297) for an analysis of how the elements of Melibea's description of her garden prefigure its sinister transformation.

are not specified, wait in Hell, 'salían dos serpientes muy espantosas que los querían meter en el forno' (1961: 101). Nonetheless, the snake's associations with Eve (and thus *luxuria* or lust) made it particularly appropriate for lovers cast into Hell. As we have seen, it makes its appearance in both Santillana's *Sueño* and *Triste deleytación*.

The gruesome, detailed medieval descriptions and depictions of Hell very often had a moral, didactic intent. Fray Lope Fernández Minaya, in his *Espejo del alma* describes, 'tres cosas [...], las quales fazen e amonestan a hombre que dexe el mundo o que non torne a él si lo dexó, que son la mentira e el fallecimiento del mundo e la certedumbre de la muerte e la pena perdurable del infierno' (1964a: 225). The first of these falls outwith the remit of this thesis, being an indictment of the World adducing proofs similar to those used to demonstrate the fickleness of Fortune. The second pertains to death, and Fray Lope's introductory statement concerning his subject matter makes it plain that his treatment of death has a moral purpose. He duly emphasises the negative side of death, certain that, 'si pensáremos quáles seremos e qué sentiremos quando por ella pasáremos, e qué sentiremos quando en nos la viéremos, poca gana avremos de vivir en el mundo' (1964a: 226) and concludes on the admonitory note that, 'la memoria de la muerte [...] nunca la olvidedes, e creed que una de las cosas que más guardan al hombre de pecar, fuera de la gracia de Dios, digo, es pensar hombre en la muerte' (1964a: 227). Hell and the diverse tortures meted out to its inhabitants receive a similar treatment, designed to induce terror and contrition in his readers, as Fray Lope makes clear in his injunction to them, 'Por ende, leed a menudo en este capítulo e pensad en estas penas, porque, como dize el Profeta, vivos descendades al infierno

³² According to Beryl Rowland, 'The Tempter in the Garden of Eden was the serpent, and the first thing Adam and Eve did after the Fall was to cover their genitalia: their sin was sexual' (1973: 142). The Devil is described as a serpent in Revelation 12.9.

³³ The precise nature of their sin is not mentioned.

pensando en él e en sus tormentos, porque, después que moriéredes, nunca a él vayades' (1964a: 229). The living were encouraged to think and read about the torments of Hell so that they would be terrified into leading a virtuous life. Pedro Carrillo de Huete, in his will, written in 1446, stated that God's purpose in leaving men uncertain of the day of their deaths was to make them ponder both death and Hell, and act in order to avoid the latter:

Nuestro Señor no nos quiso certificar el día ni la hora de nuestra muerte porque siempre seamos sospechosos y temerosos de aquel día incierto y no conocido fasta que viene aquella hora, atendiendo no pequemos, y traigamos a la memoria la espantosa y terrible muerte de que naturalmente no podemos escapar, e podamos evadir a escusar la amargura y aflicción de las penas del infierno (Torres Fontes 1987: 447).

God uses more direct methods in a number of *exempla*, and unlike the moralists, forced to resort to verbal descriptions, He can show the sinner the real terrors of Hell, 'Las penas del infierno Dios quiere mostrar / por que algunos se puedan emendar' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 161). The protagonist of one such *exemplum*, having seen the horrors that await him if he does not choose to live righteously, promptly submits himself to a rigorous scheme of penance, 'después por tantos ayunos e viglias e abstinencias vivió e se castigó que, aunque la lengua callara la su conversación lo fablara' (1961: 161), an attitude that those who recounted these *exempla* no doubt wished to see copied by their audiences.

Between Heaven and Hell was Purgatory. Neither a place of eternal joy nor eternal damnation, it was only a temporary destination for any soul which entered it. It was thought that at the Last Judgement all the souls ever created would be allocated to either Heaven or Hell, thus leaving Purgatory empty, but even prior to that fateful day souls in Purgatory might leave it and enter Heaven once they had been purged of their

sins. Furthermore, the souls in Purgatory, unlike those in Heaven and Hell, were thought to stand in acute need of the intervention on their behalf of their brothers and sisters on earth.

Though saints were thought to proceed to Heaven almost directly after death and the souls of the damned were quickly seized by demons and removed to Hell, the majority of Christians fell into a middle category, neither good enough to merit Heaven immediately nor wicked enough to be damned for all time. Purgatory prepared and perfected them so that they would be worthy to enter the presence of God. The lengthy procedure involved in dying a good death of the kind favoured by the *oradores* might ensure freedom from the pains of Hell but in itself could not guarantee the purity of soul necessary to enter Heaven. Those who received the *viaticum* and extreme unction on their deathbeds might not have had sufficient time to do a weighty enough penance for their sins. In addition, some good Christians might have died without the sacraments and, even if absolved of mortal sins, might have accrued some venial ones in the time since their last confession. In the words of the *Siete Partidas*, 'quanto menguase de complir el pecador de su emienda en su vida, tanto habrá de emendar recebiendo por ende pena su alma en el otro mundo después que moriese' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 122; PI, TIV, Ley LXIV), and this making of amends was thought to take place in Purgatory.

Purgatory was therefore a place where souls were punished but it also fulfilled the function, as its name suggests, of a place of cleansing, where the souls of the dead could be purged of the stains of sin. In the *Siete Partidas* Purgatory is described as the 'lugar do se alimpian las almas ante que vayan a paraíso, de los pecados en que se

ensuciaron' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 122; PI, TIV, Ley LXIV). This cleansing was necessary because sin impaired the soul's ability to see God:

ninguna alma non puede entrar en la gloria de Dios nin veer la su faz, si primeramente non es purgada, segunt él mesmo dixo a Moysén: que ninguno non lo podría veer temporalmente quanto en sisé que es espiritual; pero bien lo podría ver otro espíritu seyendo limpio: porque conviene que el alma que quisiere llegar a la limpia gloria de Dios, que se alimpeie ella primero, et de otra guisa non lo puede ella veer (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 123; PI, TIV, Ley LXV).

The words of Saint Paul (I Corinthians 3.11-15) concerning the testing by fire of each man's deeds were the main Scriptural basis for Purgatory (Le Goff 1981: 19, 66-67) and therefore fire, which purified as well as punished, as opposed to the flames of Hell which functioned solely as a torment, was often present in the imagery of Purgatory.³⁴ The flames of Purgatory were not understood simply as imagery, but were thought of as a real, and very painful, punishment for the souls enduring them, 'la pena de Purgatorio es mucho más cruel que pena que hombre en este mundo pueda padecer, tanto que dizen algunos e ha seído revelado, que más siente hombre en un día en Purgatorio que si oviese dolor e tribulación en esta vida en un año' (Fernández de Minaya 1964b: 287). It is to these fires that Calisto refers (after first alluding to the fires of love):

mayor es la llama [...] que mata un ánima que la que quemó cient mil cuerpos. Como de la apariencia a la existencia, como de lo bivo a lo pintado, como de la sombra a lo real, tanta diferencia ay del fuego que dizes al que me quema. Por cierto si el de purgatorio es tal, más querría que mi espíritu fuesse con los de los brutos animales que por medio de aquél yr a la gloria de los santos (Rojas 1998: 92).³⁵

As implied in Calisto's comments, Purgatory was only a temporary home for the soul and one from which it would eventually depart in order to enter the ranks of the

³⁴ God's purifying fire is also present in Malachi 3.2. The other punishment which recurs in descriptions of Purgatory is ice (Le Goff 1981: 18). One of Sánchez de Vercial's *exempla*, though not set in Purgatory, relates that a soul was trapped in a block of ice, 'en pena por los pecados que cometí' (1961: 48), but was freed after a bishop said masses for its sake.

³⁵ Calisto's words may recall the words of St Augustine as they appear in the *Arte de bien morir*, 'Sant Agustín [...] dize que: "Mayor dapño es la perdición de una ánima que de mill cuerpos" ' (1999: 81).

blessed in Heaven. This departure could be speeded by the actions of the living. In the main, with the exception of the relationship between the living and the saints, the emphasis in descriptions of the interaction between the living and the dead tended to be on the effect that the living could have on the dead. In one of the sections of the *Siete Partidas*, 'En quantas maneras facen bien los vivos que tenga pro a las almas de los muertos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972, 164-165: PI, TIV, Ley XCVII), we are told that those in Purgatory can be assisted by the living. As a result of the latter's good works and prayers for the dead, 'alíviales Dios las penas a los que yacen en purgatorio, et sácalos Dios mas afna et liévalos a paraíso, maguer ellos en su vida non podiesen complir las penitencias que les dieron' (1972, 165: PI, TIV, Ley XCVII). The assistance could be given in four ways: through masses, prayers, alms and fasts (1972, 165: PI, TIV, Ley XCVII).

The efficacy of the intervention of the living on the sufferings of those in Purgatory is demonstrated in the tenth miracle presented in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Pedro, who was guilty of 'grand avaricia, un peccado mortal' (Berceo 1971: 95), died and 'fo a los purgatorios, do merecé, levado' (1971: 95). Once in Purgatory Pedro's soul asked for the Pope to say mass for him:

Mas si el apostóligo con la su clerecía
cantasse por mí missa solamiente un día,
fío en la Gloriosa, madre sancta María,
qe me darié Dios luego alguna mejoría. (1971: 97).³⁶

Ironically Calisto, though he recognises the dangers of the fires of love, rejects the cleansing fire of Purgatory and thus places his soul in danger.

³⁶ The actions of the living could, however, adversely affect the dead, as the law entitled, 'Quales son las cosas que los homes facen que tienen daño a los muertos, et non a ellos pro' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 166; PI, TIV, Ley XCVIII) explains. The impact the actions of the bereaved were thought to have on the deceased is discussed in the following chapter.

2. The *defensores* and the *vida de la fama*

The dead *caballero* who had gained *fama* was even more dependent on the living than the soul in Purgatory since *fama* did not have an independent spiritual existence. It persisted only as long as memory and this was one reason why it was thought necessary for the deeds of the famous dead to be recorded. This is what Mena asks of the personified *Fama* in his *Laberinto de Fortuna*:

levante la Fama su boz ineffable,
por que los fechos que son al presente
vayan de gentes sabidos en gente,
olvido non prive lo que es memorable (1997: 76).

In a similar vein Pero Díaz de Toledo stated that he undertook to write his *Diálogo e razonamiento en la muerte del marqués de Santillana*, 'porque en el presente tiempo e por venir la olvidança, madrastra de la memoria, e discurso de tiempos, non trayan en tiniebra la lumbr e clandor de las grandes virtudes deste caballero, e su nombre e fama' (1892: 248). Recording the praiseworthy and memorable was considered one of the primary functions of a chronicle and a number make explicit their role in the preservation of *fama*. Mosén Diego de Valera in his *Memorial de diversas hazañas* covering the reign of Enrique IV (1454–1474) explained that:

determiné en suma escrebir las cosas más dignas de memoria [...]: [...] las hazañas y virtuosas obras de aquellos que las hicieron están como sepultadas y puestas en olvido; y ponerlas en luz me parece ser honesto y provechoso trabajo, siquiera porque los hacedores de aquellas y los descendientes suyos sean acatados con la reverencia y honor que les pertenece, y por enxemplo suyo otros se esfuercen a tales obras hacer: y determiné en esta obra, no solamente escrebir las hazañas y virtuosas obras, mas algunas aunque tales no fueron, porque los obradores así de las unas como de las otras, resciban el premio a su merecimiento debido (1914: 3).

Enríquez del Castillo, who chronicled the life of the same King, expressed himself in similar terms:

quise [...] despertar las hazañas, decir los famosos hechos de los que agora viven e son, para que revivan sus nombres, e suene su fama, así de los buenos para su mayor alabanza, como de los malos para su vituperio (1914: 100).

Pulgar, chronicler to the Reyes Católicos, declared 'haremos memoria de aquellos que por sus virtuosos trabajos merecieron haber loable fama, de la qual es razón que gocen sus descendientes' (1914: 229). The word *fama* could refer to both 'fame' and 'notoriety', though when unqualified by context, it tended to be positive. The system of *fama*, like the spiritual afterlife of the *oradores*, can thus be conceived of as tripartite, since there was both good and bad *fama* and a lack of either. The consequence of a good death in the chivalric mode was the preservation of the positive type of *fama* and, as we have seen, chroniclers clearly felt it was inappropriate for those who deserved *fama* to be denied it. Deliberately avoiding death would lead to bad *fama* which could endure beyond the lifetime of the cowardly individual, 'muerte nin otro peligro que es pasadero, non deben tanto temer como la mala fama que es cosa que fincaríe para siempre a ellos et a su linage' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 160; PII, TXVIII, Ley XII). It could also be gained by tyrants who 'dexan la fama cruel, monstruosa' (Mena 1997: 218) or by others who acted in a dishonourable fashion.

Although *fama* could be won by women, as in the case of Queen María of Aragón, wife of Alfonso V, of whom Mena exclaimed, '¡Pues piensa qué fama le deve la muerte, / quando su gloria la vida non calla!' (1997: 137), female honour was intimately associated with chastity and women tended to gain *fama* through its retention. In the case of the Queen, she is praised for being a 'nueva Penélope' (1997: 137), though her 'mucha justicia' (1997: 136) is also mentioned. Chastity is also the most salient characteristic of the woman he describes in the next verse, 'la muy casta dueña' (1997: 137) María Coronel. Diego de Valera's list of virtuous women, given in

his *Tratado en defenssa de virtuossas mugeres*, is divided into two main categories, 'vírgines' and 'castas' (1959c: 57).³⁷ A partial exception who proves the rule that female virtue was associated with sexual purity is Judith who, as described by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza in some *Coplas* he dedicated to the Catholic Monarchs, used her charms to allure Holofernes, 'su limpieza cabtelo / fingiendo caso contrario' (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 67). Though remaining chaste, her ability to feign otherwise, coupled with the fact that she cut off Holofernes's head while he slept, gained her *fama* of a more masculine type, since her courage and bloodthirstiness were judged manly. Fray Íñigo describes her as achieving:

alta fama *viril*
de dueña marauillosa,
que el estado feminil
hizo *fuërça varonil*
con cabtela virtuosa! (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 67, my italics).

Given the events they describe, the chronicles tend to mention *fama* gained by men, particularly *defensores*. One of the qualities essential for a member of this estate and one which, 'con mayor o menor énfasis, todo el mundo consideraba como propia del caballero' (Rodríguez Velasco 1996: 341), was *fortaleza*, a virtue, according to Pulgar in a letter he wrote in 1479 to the condestable Fernández de Velasco 'de la cual se ha de fornecer [...] cualquier que face profesión en la orden de cauallería' (Pulgar 1929: 67). In Alfonso de la Torre's *Visión deleitable* it is the personified *Fortaleza* who introduces Entendimiento to the concept of *fama*. As we have already seen, the *Partidas* listed *fortaleza* as one of the virtues particularly necessary to the *defensores*, though it was not confined solely to this estate. It was, however, a virtue necessary to the fulfilment of their social function and therefore of particular importance to them. Brian Dutton has argued that the association between *fortaleza* and the *defensores* was particularly strong

³⁷ He also lists some women from the Old Testament and some Christians, but again there is considerable

in the earlier Middle Ages when the nobility 'were men of action, of physical courage, but illiterate, signing documents with a cross' (1979: 4) and thus '*virtus-fortitudo*, symbolized by the sword, [belonged] to the military *defensores* and *pietas-iustitia-sapientia* to the clergy *oradores*' (1979: 4). As Fortaleza is quick to point out via a rhetorical question, *fortaleza* is a virtue which requires more than mere fighting skill, 'ca ¿qué monta a un hombre haber sojuzgado los indios y los mediterráneos et septentrionales, y ser vencido de la ira y de las otras pasiones?' (Torre 1950: 390).³⁸ This is a point also made by Providencia in Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna*. She explains to the poet that *fortaleza* is not mere strength:

'Fuerça se llama, mas non fortaleza,
la de los miembros, o grand valentía;
la grand fortaleza en el alma se cría
que viste los cuerpos de rica nobleza,
de cuerda osadía, de grand gentileza,
de mucha costancia, de fe y lealdat:
a tales esfuerça su autoridad
que débiles fizo la naturaleza.' (1997: 217).

It requires the eschewing of extremes in favour of the mean, 'la fortaleza verdadera es un medio entre la audacia y el temor' (Torre 1950: 390) and self-control, 'la primera fortaleza es supeditar y enseñorear las pasiones propias' (1950: 390). Within this context, Fortaleza explains how *fama* is gained:

El magnánimo [...] no se expone a todo peligro, sino a aquel que es honesto et justo. El magnánimo escoge de morir por la virtud, ca más quiere la honesta muerte que la deshonesta et vituperable vida; al cual sí vive le siguen las honras y la fama, que son premios de la virtud, et si muriere tiene reposo en la otra vida y fama en aqueste mundo, et síguese por ello buen nombre a los suyos (1950: 390).

Here we have the five main elements of the concept of the *vida de la fama*. Firstly, the action which brings the fame is due to fortitude or bravery, but not rashness, 'no se

emphasis on their chastity or virginity.

³⁸ I have been unable to consult the edition of *Visión* edited by Jorge García López, *Textos Recuperados*, 6-7 (Salamanca: Univ., 1991).

expone a todo peligro'. Secondly, the man who gains *fama* does so because he prefers death to dishonour, 'más quiere la honesta muerte que la deshonesto et vituperable vida', though this does not mean that he wishes to die. Thirdly, *fama* is something which is attained during life and though it survives death, it is a good which is of this world, existing 'en aqueste mundo' and therefore transitory in comparison with the eternal life promised to the souls in Heaven. Finally, the honour and *fama* of the man who has gained it reflects on his extended kinship group, 'los suyos', though, as we have seen, the dishonourable acts of descendants could retrospectively lessen the *fama* of their ancestors.

Despite the fact that *fama* was a secular goal, it was not necessarily seen as incompatible with the achievement of a place in Heaven. The two concepts complement each other in Luis Fernández Puertocarrero's address to the men under his command in which he asked them to defend Alhama, 'dando buena cuenta a Dios de nuestras ánimas, e al Rey de su cibdad, e al mundo de nuestra virtud, fagamos larga, por fama, esta vida breve de días' (Pulgar 1914: 374). Andrés Bernáldez, 'cura que fue de la villa de los Palacios' wrote of the Duque de Cádiz that, 'la fama de este buen caballero, la cual no puede morir [...] es inmortal, así como el ánima' (1914: 646), which again suggests that the concepts of both sacred and secular forms of afterlife could co-exist in the culture of the period. There is, therefore, at least superficial evidence to support Anna Krause's belief that, 'The classic cult of fame [...] apparently offered no contradiction to Christian ethic as then interpreted' (1937: 114).

Some exaltations of *fama*, including Diego de Burgos's *Triunfo del marqués*, written after the death of Santillana in 1458 and which combines classicism with a

vision of the afterlife may, however, cause us to question Krause's conclusions. After a brief mention of the 'reynos de Pluto' (Foulché-Delbosc 1915: 540) and Purgatory, a third region is described. Given that our poet's guide on his travels is Dante, one might expect this to be the Empyrean. Yet Dante informs Diego that:

[...] muchos de aquellos que en el mundo suena
que están en infierno o en purgatorio,
verás como juntos en gran consistorio
celebran su [Santillana's] vida y muerte serena (Foulché-Delbosc 1915: 540).

These include many illustrious philosophers, poets and warriors of antiquity whose pagan background would, in Dante's scheme have been confined to Limbo or, in the exceptional case of Cato, the ground to be traversed prior to entry to Purgatory. Despite his invocations of Apollo and Jove, Diego did not go quite so far as to rewrite the entrance criteria for Heaven: he gathered these souls together to celebrate Santillana's *fama* prior to his accession to Heaven. The Virtues call on Plato 'que el començasse, / la fama del alto Marqués celebrasse' (Foulché-Delbosc 1915: 547) and Santillana's last words are of gratitude to God, 'que queda mi nombre por firme memoria / biuo en las bocas de toda la gente' (Foulché-Delbosc 1915: 559). A blaze of light then engulfs the scene and the poet sees the Marqués 'sobir ala gloria' (Foulché-Delbosc 1915: 559). The emphasis on *fama* is disproportionate in comparison to the space dedicated to Hell and Purgatory, and Heaven remains unvisited by the poet. In addition, in depicting the recognition of Santillana's *fama* in the afterlife Diego de Burgos was forced to squeeze in a new stage in the soul's progress, between Purgatory and Heaven. The awkwardness of such an accommodation reveals the difficulties inherent in seeking to reconcile Christianity and *fama*. Furthermore, the concepts underpinning *fama*, such as honour (both personal and familial) and the desire for renown, ran contrary to the Christian doctrine of humility. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in his *Coplas de vicios y virtudes*, for

example, observed that the soul governed by its conscience could smilingly turn the other cheek whereas the dictates of honour demanded the avenging of the smallest slight:

La honor nunca consiente
vn punto contra su fama,
nin cura de aquella flama
del infierno muy ardiente;
con gesto alegre ⁊ plaziente
la consciencia el rostro offrece
al golpe, que assi paresce
que del primero non siente (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 581).

He also directed his criticism against a particular individual, Álvaro de Luna, whom he felt had placed the pursuit of *fama* ahead of his spiritual welfare when facing execution, 'a la qual muerte, segund se dize, él se dispuso a la sofrir más esforçada que devotamente. Ca segunt los abtos que aquel día fizo e las palabras que dixo más perteneçían a fama que a devoçión' (Pérez de Guzmán 1965: 44). Round suggests that Pérez de Guzmán was expressing 'a minority view' (1986: 210n) and that Luna did, in fact, die devoutly. Whatever the truth of the matter, it remains the case that Pérez de Guzmán perceived an incompatibility between devotion and a desire for *fama*.

Furthermore, the Church's emphasis on the spiritual rather than the material, the *de contemptu mundi* topos, minimised the importance of all worldly goods, including *fama*. These, as Juan Álvarez Gato warned, might bring praise on earth, but were certain to lead to Hell:

Tú que procuras por fama
tesoros, poder y mando,
trabajas beuir penando,
procuras ynfierno y llama,
pues que quando lo tuuieres
alcanças por do serás
loado, do no estuuieres,

penado, donde estarás.(Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 252).

A similar condemnation of the search for *fama* is to be found in the 1325 *Catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar* which states that, 'el (que) muere, más a menester de buena conciencia que de fama' (Martín & Linage Conde 1987: 220). This incompatibility between Christianity and the concept of *fama* has led to the suggestion that the latter came to prominence late in the Middle Ages due to a decline in Christian beliefs in the survival of the soul:

au XIV^e siècle, avant peut-être, cette conception religieuse du monde, de la vie et de la mort, cède le pas à une conception profane où certains croient reconnaître une résurgence du paganisme. [...] Mais comme l'homme ne s'accommode pas facilement de la crainte, il entreprend aussitôt de trouver un remède efficace. Certains vont le chercher dans le culte de l'honneur et de la gloire et croient pouvoir obtenir une sorte d'immortalité terrestre grâce à la renommée (Saugnieux 1972: 13).

Lida de Malkiel, however, points to the continuity of the concept throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance:

Lo que no creo exacto es que la idea de la fama hubiese desaparecido totalmente del horizonte medieval y hubiese surgido nueva en el Renacimiento, sin raíces inmediatas [...]. Más verosímil es que, como otros aspectos de arte y de pensamiento, también éste sea peculiarmente fuerte y valioso en la Antigüedad y en el Renacimiento pero, lejos de haber quebrado su línea en los siglos medios, quede enlazado, cabalmente, por un hilo medieval (1952: 9).³⁹

As we have seen, the concept of *fama* was present in the second of the *Siete Partidas*, which were composed in the second half of the thirteenth century. Far from suggesting a loss of faith, Alfonso X's ideas concerning *fama* must be read alongside the comprehensive restatement of Christian dogma and practice that make up the bulk of the first *Partida*. Throughout the fifteenth century we find the juxtaposition, even in one sentence, of a strong belief in both *fama* and the immortality of the soul. This would

³⁹ The continued presence of the concept of *fama* through the Middle Ages is the theme of María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's *La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana* (1952). Of more limited scope is

tend to militate against the acceptance of the theory that, in Castile at least, *fama* was associated with a Renaissance rediscovery of the classics and a concurrent loss of Christian faith. On the contrary, Round has detected an 'almost ubiquitous moralizing note' (1962: 204) in the literature of the reign of Juan II. This was one factor which led him to conclude that, 'a medieval view of culture was still dominant at that time' (1962: 204). Lawrance, on the other hand, has argued that the classical works in translation which gained in popularity during the fifteenth century in Castile 'represent something we could call "vernacular humanism"' (1986: 78). Berndt, though she too detects the influence of the Italian humanists, admits that, 'En España los cimientos de la tradición cristiana no parecen temblar tanto como en Italia' (1963: 86). Regardless of their differing positions on the extent of the influence of humanism on fifteenth-century Castile, none of these critics presents any evidence of a significant decline in Christian faith. Lawrance's finding that:

Apart from devotional works, the commonest broad factor revealed in the choice of works in [...] fifteenth-century libraries is the concern for 'gentle' education, instruction, mostly by way of example, in the knowledge and manners expected of the well-born (1985: 88-89)

in fact suggests that matters of faith remained of great importance to the lay readers with whom his article deals. Their devotional reading, indicative of faith, was to be found alongside 'vernacular translations of classical historians [...] popular with noble readers because Roman *militia* was erroneously regarded as the source and mirror of medieval chivalry' (Lawrance 1985: 89). Such juxtapositions in their libraries mirror the co-existence in the literature of the period of Christianity and such a distinctly *defensor* and secular concept as *fama*.

Dutton's article on 'The Semantics of Honor' (1979) in which he argues with reference to the *Libro de Alexandre* that the term '*prez, precio* is the equivalent of *fama*' (1979: 9).

An exhaustive study of the concept of *fama* throughout the Middle Ages is clearly outwith the limits of this thesis and in any case it may have found its expression less in literature than in action. If it is true that, 'En la Edad Media el terreno propicio para el culto de la fama no es [...] el dominio del pensamiento, regido por la Iglesia, sino el de la acción, el ambiente caballeresco y cortesano' (Lida de Malkiel 1952: 133), then our picture of the attitudes prevalent in the Middle Ages may have been shaped by the fact that so many of the extant literary works, particularly in the earlier Middle Ages, were composed by clerics and therefore reflect their views rather than those of the *defensores*:

Por importante que sea en la Edad Media la esfera eclesiástica, es fácil en nuestros días exagerar su importancia, ya que de ella provienen en abrumadora mayoría los testimonios escritos. La Iglesia no es, al fin, toda la vida medieval; fuera de ella existe, por ejemplo, una esfera cortesana cuyo ideal de la vida no es el eclesiástico, y que trata de expresarse no sólo o no primariamente en formas literarias, sino en formas refinadas de vida (Lida de Malkiel 1952: 116-117).

3. Conclusion

What becomes clear from a study of the views and descriptions of the afterlife in fifteenth-century Castile is that there was a distinct *defensor* scheme of the afterlife, gained by individuals in accordance with *defensor*, not *orador* criteria. The *defensores*, being Christians, did not reject the *oradores*' model of the afterlife, but they refused to abandon their own ideals. Thus, despite the condemnations of the quest for *fama*, we find authors who juxtapose the *vida de la fama* and the Christian Heaven, with no apparent indication that they recognised an incompatibility between the two. The *Siete Partidas*, for example, had stated:

cierta cosa es que el que muere en servicio de Dios et por la fe, que pasa desta vida et va a *paraíso*: otrosí el que muere por defendimiento de su tierra o por su señor natural face lealtad, et múdase de las cosas que se camian cada día, et pasa a ganar *nombradía firme para sí et para su linage por siempre* (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 270; PII, TXXV, Ley III, my italics).

Despite the parallel construction and the fact that both fates involve a passing from one world to another, the first has as its focus 'fe' and 'servicio de Dios' while the second invokes the concept of 'lealtad' and the service of 'su señor natural': the rewards are 'paraíso' and 'nombradía firme' respectively. One senses that the *caballeros*, despite their adherence to Christianity, were profoundly unwilling to reject that 'nombradía', or *fama* which was such a spur to military action. A similar juxtaposition of sacred and secular goals is to be found in Gómez Manrique's *Defunzió del noble cavallero Garcilasso de la Vega*, though here both are attained by a single individual. The messenger who brings the sad news of Garcilaso's death to his mother assures her:

Por ende, señora, pues perdió la vida,
ganando por sienpre la *celeste gloria*,
dexando de sí *perpetua memoria*,
no deue de ser su muerte plañida (1991a: I, 111, my italics).

By dying a 'good death' according to both the *defensor* and *orador* models, dying a crusader's death, 'murió peleando según nuestra ley' (1991a: I, 111), and having received the sacraments, 'confesó antes que finase, / a Dios suplicando que lo perdonase' (1991a: I, 111), her son had gained a place in Heaven and, in addition, had left behind in this world his 'memoria' or *fama*. The reference to *fama* is explicit earlier in the poem where, in words which, 'dan la impresión de la fama sempiterna ascendiendo, como un fénix, del cadáver del héroe' (Deyermund 1987 [1990]: 102), we are told that with Garcilaso's death 'començó la su buena fama / la qual mucho tarde o nunca morrá' (Manrique 1991a: I, 106). The survival of Garcilaso's *fama* was also recorded on the epitaph on his tomb, 'At mors nil nocuit, nam vivit fama perenni' (Sieber 1989: 279). Jorge Manrique makes a distinction between the manner in which members of the two estates could gain a place in Heaven, the 'vivir qu'es perdurable' (1985: 165), the *oradores* gaining it 'con oraciones / e con lloros' (1985: 165), the *defensores* through their crusading activities, 'con trabajos e aflicciones / contra moros' (1985: 165). Yet despite this emphasis on Heaven and acceptance of the crusading ideal, which spiritualised the task of the warrior class, he does not dismiss as worthless the entirely secular, *defensor*, *vida de la fama*. The 'fama gloriosa' (1985: 164), the 'vida d'honor' (1985: 165) is admitted to be neither 'eternal ni verdadera' (1985: 164), but it still retains a certain value, 'con todo, es muy mejor / que la otra temporal, / peresçedera' (1985: 164).

As we shall see in the following chapter, there was a long tradition of secular resistance to the Church's prohibition of certain mourning practices. Clearly laymen had their reasons for sustaining their traditions in the face of concerted theological opposition, though such opposition should certainly not be understood as forming a

conscious rejection of Christianity. I would suggest that the concept of *fama*, as well as that of the chivalric 'good death', influenced mourning and that they formed part of a cohesive alternative ideology to that of the *oradores*.

IV. THE BEREAVED

FIZO SUS HOSEQUIAS HONRADAMENTE, E CUNPLIÓ SU TESTAMENTO (Díaz de Games 1994: 538).

1. Introduction

So far in my examination of the process of dying and its consequences for the deceased, the living have received relatively little attention. They have not been entirely excluded, for deaths occurred in a wider social context and it was living people, not dead ones, who wrote accounts of deaths and made recommendations on how to die. I have also shown how the form of an individual's death could affect the social status of their family, particularly if they had died a bad death. The physical consequences for the corpses of many of those who had died bad deaths have also been discussed and when these deaths led to outcomes such as the destruction of the corpse, the requirement to bury it in a designated criminals' cemetery or the refusal of burial in hallowed ground, the choice the deceased, their family and friends could exercise with regard to funeral arrangements was severely limited. In this chapter, I turn to the responses of the bereaved to good deaths, or at least ones about which no negative judgement had been made by the bereaved or the author who relates them: *Moriens* is now a corpse and though his wishes, as expressed in a will, might be respected by its executors, it is the living who are the actors at this point in the events surrounding death. My aim is not to present an exhaustive study of the practices and rituals which surrounded the burial and commemoration of the dead in fifteenth-century Castile, or even an evaluation of how they changed in the course of the century.¹ Rather I will examine certain aspects of them, as reflected in literature and as revealed in historical and legal documents, in

¹ These topics are ones which have been covered by a number of authors. Among those with a particularly Castilian focus is Royer de Cardinal ([1992 (?): 145-282). For trends in fifteenth-century Valladolid funerals, burial locations and clothing preferences for the corpse, see Rucquoi (1988: 53-57).

order to discover whether they too reflect the conflict between, and the co-existence of, the values of *oradores* and *defensores*. What follows, therefore, illustrates the:

anthropological axiom, that the manner of disposing of the dead reflects social or cultural norms and ideals. In the Middle Ages as in other epochs, death ritual was not so much a question of dealing with a corpse as of reaffirming the secular and spiritual order by means of a corpse (Finucane 1981: 40-41).

Since the death of any member of a society affects the survivors, rituals develop both to assist the bereaved and, as in the case of medieval Castile where there was a belief in the afterlife, to give spiritual assistance to the deceased. Religious considerations, according to Adeline Rucquoi, led to 'una tendencia hacia una mayor sencillez' (1988: 55) in funerals in the second half of the fifteenth century. Nonetheless the way in which funerals were conducted often reveals more worldly preoccupations, such as a desire to reflect the deceased's social and economic status, 'Las exequias funerarias han de manifestar el rango del difunto que ha de morir de acuerdo con su estado y según el orden admitido por todos' (Mitre Fernández 1992: 18). That an 'orden admitido por todos' applied to events after death is also suggested by Rucquoi who has found that fifteenth-century Castilian wills present:

una tendencia a la 'codificación'. En 1397 ya, el Justicia Mayor del reino, Diego Lopes de Stúñiga, señala al final para salario de sus 'cabeçaleros' los 'que se suelen dar a los enterramientos de los tales como yo'. 'De los tales como yo': la fórmula ya ha salido que revela que a cierta categoría social corresponde una serie de ritos y de precios o costes predeterminados (1988: 54).

2. The *oradores*: ritual and remembrance

Whatever secular elements might exist in funeral practices, there existed a 'domination of formal death rituals by "technocrats of death", namely the clergy' (Binski 1996: 52): the religious rites were the exclusive preserve of the *oradores*. In extreme cases, when no priests were available, lay-people could inter the dead, but were forbidden to speak the words of the rites:

Dos maneras muestra santa egleſia a quien pertenesce el derecho de soterrar los muertos: et la una dellas es la que pertenesce a las egleſias que han cementerios por otorgamiento de los obispos, et a los clérigos que las sirven: et tal derecho como este non pertenesce a los legos nin aún a otros clérigos, fueras ende si lo feciesen con placer de aquellos: et si acaesciere que non hobiese hi ninguno de aquellos clérigos que sirven la egleſia que soterrase el muerto o que otorgase a otro su poder que lo ficiese, en tal manera bien lo puede soterrar otro qualquier clérigo: et si clérigo non podieren haber en ninguna manera, bien lo pueden soterrar los legos: mas con todo eso non se deben revestir nin decir las oraciones como clérigos (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 382; PI, TXIII, Ley III).

Burial rites were only to be carried out by the priests of churches with cemeteries, unless they gave permission for other clergy to do so. The law established that, 'Soterrar deben cada un home en el cementerio de aquella egleſia onde era parroquiano, et do oíe las horas quando era vivo et do rescibíe los sacramentos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 384; PI, TXIII, Ley V). Burial elsewhere was possible, but a certain amount of money had to be paid to the parish church to compensate it for not receiving the body (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 384-385; PI, TXIII, Ley V).²

Burial in ground not controlled and hallowed by the *oradores* was of course possible and has been discussed in the context of the bad death, but it was not thought a

² According to the *Partidas* this could be 'la tercera o la quarta parte o la metat, segunt la costumbre que fuere usada en aquel obispado o en aquella tierra do viviere, de lo que él mandó a aquella egleſia do escogió su sepultura, et de lo que hobiese mandado a otras egleſias o monesterios o órdenes qualesquier que fuesen' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 384; PI, TXIII, Ley V). Despite this, it was clearly to the advantage of the monastic orders to secure burials in their cemeteries and the issue caused considerable conflict between the former and parish priests (Laurence 1972: 3-4).

desirable outcome. Ley II of the thirteenth *título* of the first *Partida* explains, 'Por qué razones deben seer las sepolturas cerca de las eglesias' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 382). There were four main reasons, 'la primera porque así como la creencia de los cristianos es más allegada a Dios que la de las otras gentes, que así las sepolturas dellos fuesen acercadas a las eglesias' (1972: I, 382; PI, TXIII, Ley II). Burial near or in churches, in other words on holy ground consecrated by the Church, was thus a visible symbol that those permitted burial there were orthodox believers. Not only had their beliefs brought their souls closer to God, but they also rendered their corpses deserving of respectful treatment, since they had contained, and would eventually once more contain, those same souls:

pues que los cristianos hobieron et han vida ordenada de como vivan et creencia verdadera de cómo han de resucitar et ser salvos los que ficiere bien, por ende fue ordenado por los santos padres que hobiesen sepolturas ciertas cabo sus eglesias, et non en lugares yermos et apartados dellas, yaciendo soterrados por los campos como bestias (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 380; PI, TXIII).

This distinction between the treatment thought appropriate for the bodies of deceased Christians and that which was accorded to animals had practical consequences for how the corpses of non-Christians were treated. In Loxa the invading Christians found the bodies of over 450 dead *Moros* in the streets, 'e porque el hedor de los muertos era grande, fueron echados de la cibdad e quemados en el campo' (Pulgar 1914: 436). By contrast the bodies of dead Christians found near Moclán were reverently collected and buried, 'Falláronse en los campos que son en circuito de aquella villa algunos cuerpos de christianos muertos [...] los quales la Reyna mandó recoger e sepultar en las iglesias que se fundaron en aquella villa' (Pulgar 1914: 440). Like soulless animals, those who were denied burial in hallowed ground, such as heretics and infidel were separated from the Christian dead awaiting the resurrection in the graveyard. In the eighth of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, concerning the 'romero engañado por el diablo', Santiago replies to the Devil that:

Si tú no li dissiesses qe Sanctiāgo eras,
 tú no li demostrasses sennal de mis veneras,
 non dannarié su cuerpo con sus mismas tiseras,
nin yazdrié como yaze fuera por las carreras (1971: 83, my italics).

Here the damnation of the pilgrim, whose soul the devils, 'levavan non de buena manera' (1971: 83), finds a physical parallel in the location of the body, which has been left by the wayside. Because of the importance given to burial in consecrated ground priests were not permitted to charge for carrying out the funeral rites: this was considered to be simony, though 'si alguna cosa les quisiesen los homes dar de su grado bien lo pueden tomar' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 381; PI, TXIII, Ley I). In practice payments for burial, though not compulsory, were expected and they served to supplement the tithes to be paid by parishioners during their lifetimes. However, the dead were not to be denied burial simply because of their debts, 'Testado nin vedado non debe ser ningunt muerto que lo non sotierren por debdas que deba' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 390; PI, TXIII, Ley XV).

The denial of burial in hallowed ground affected not only the body of the deceased and the reputation of their relatives, but was also thought to have implications for the soul. The second reason given by Alfonso el Sabio for Christian burial was, 'porque aquellos que vienen a las eglesias quando veen las fuesas de sus parientes o de sus amigos se acuerdan de rogar a Dios por ellos' (1972: I, 382; PI, TXIII, Ley II). Exclusion from the mass of Christian dead implied a separation from living Christians also, and was a physical and highly visible symbol of the dead person's unworthiness and their separation from the entirety of the Christian community, comprising both dead and living Christians. According to Aquinas, 'the body of the Church is made up of the men who have been from the beginning of the world until its end' (2000: IIIa, 8.3). This includes the Christian dead (souls in Purgatory and Heaven) and the Christian living, all

of whom are included in the communion of saints (McGuire 1989: 67). As a consequence of this understanding of the Christian community, the living were expected to pray for the dead. Since prayers could assist the soul of the deceased by securing them a reduction in the length of time in Purgatory, deprivation of these prayers meant that the soul's suffering would be longer. Even if a corpse was buried in holy ground, it was preferable for a tomb to be well-tended, hence the plea of the soul of the 'fraire' in the seventh of Berceo's *Milagros*, 'San Pedro y el monje lozano':

Yo te ruego por Dios e por sancta María,
qe tengas un clamor tú por mí cada día.

Otra cosa te ruego, qe la mi sepultura
qe yaz toda cubierta de suso de vasura,
tú la hagas varrer por tu buena medida (1971: 77).

The *fraire's* plea for his tomb to be cleaned can also be ascribed to his wish for remembrance since we may suppose that if a tomb was visible, passers-by were more likely to pray for the soul of the person whose body it contained, and thus speed its passage through Purgatory.

The third reason given in the *Partidas* in support of Christian burial was, 'porque los acomiendan a aquellos santos a cuyo nombre et a cuya honra son fundadas las eglesias, que rueguen a Dios señaladamente por los que yacen en sus cementerios' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 382; PI, TXIII, Ley II). This is an acknowledgement that the prayers of which the soul buried in unhallowed ground would be deprived were not only those of the living, but also the even more efficacious prayers of the saints. The fourth benefit of Christian burial was that, 'los diablos non han poder de se allegar tanto a los cuerpos de los muertos que son soterrados en los cementerios como a los que yacen de fuera' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 382; PI, TXIII, Ley II). That devils were thought to be able to interfere with corpses buried in hallowed ground is apparent from one of the

exempla already discussed (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 109-110). Nonetheless, the sanctity of churches and graveyards did have a certain deterrent effect, as is made clear by the statement from the *Partidas* cited above.

Burial in hallowed ground was therefore considered of great benefit to the deceased. In the third of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (El clérigo y la flor) the Virgin even intervenes personally to ensure a more suitable burial location for her devotee, since his thirty-day exclusion from the graveyard was imperilling his soul:

defuera de la villa entre unos riberos,
allá lo soterraron, non entre los dezmeros.

Pesó'l a la Gloriosa con est enterramiento, [...]

Bien avié treinta días qe era soterrado,
en término tan luengo *podí seer dannado* (1971: 59-60, my italics).

The importance of a good burial should not be overstated however. It would have been theologically incorrect to suggest that burial location alone would prevent an otherwise deserving person from reaching Heaven, particularly as many of the martyrs had been killed or had their corpses disposed of in ways which prevented their interment. Conversely, the undeserving could not be saved by a prestigious tomb. The *Partidas* make it clear that, 'bien así como a los buenos non empesce si los sotierran vilmiente et sin las honras deste mundo, así non tiene pro a las almas de los malos enterrarlos bien nin facerles grant honra' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 166; PI, TIV, Ley XCVIII). The point was also made in *exempla*, such as those related in Sánchez de Vercial's collection. In one the corpse vanishes, leaving only grave clothes in the tomb, vividly illustrating the lesson that even if unrepentant evil-doers achieve a church burial, it will not avail them, 'La sepultura en lugar sancto / non aprovecha al que es malo' (1961: 310). Another, headed, 'El malo non deve ser enterrado / en la iglesia, mas fuera della' (1961: 308) goes still further, by asserting that such a burial compounds their

wickedness. In it the corpse of a very sinful man is removed from the church by devils and reinterred elsewhere, 'por lo qual paresçe que los que tienen graves pecados e se fazen enterrar en lugar sagrado, que se judgan por su presunpción e que los lugares sanctos non los libran, mas ante los acusa de la culpa de su lucura' (1961: 309). The fact that such *exempla* existed, however, suggests that a good burial was very highly valued and was often supposed to benefit the soul of the deceased.

Having been laid in their graves, it was hoped that the dead would not be disturbed either by spiritual beings or irreverent human hands. Redigging of churchyards did occur, however, and charnel houses were sometimes used to store bones.³ Exhumations were allowed if someone had been buried somewhere where they had no right to be, or if for some reason it was necessary to translate a corpse from one church or cemetery to another, but the bishop's permission had to be received before they could take place. The bishop's approval was not required if the burial place had never been intended to be a permanent one:

si alguno otro soterrasen dentro en la iglesia sinon los que son dichos en esta ley, débelos facer sacar ende el obispo; et también estos como qualquier de los otros que son nombrados en la ley ante desta, que deben ser desoterrados de los cementerios, débenlos ende sacar por mandado del obispo, et non de otra manera. Eso mismo deben facer quando quisieren mudar algunt muerto de una iglesia a otra, o de un cementerio a otro. Pero si alguno soterrasen en algún lugar non para siempre mas con entención de lo levar a otra parte, atal como éste bien lo pueden desoterrar para mudarlo a menos de mandado del obispo (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 388; PI, TXIII, Ley XI).

Unfortunately the resting places of the dead might also be disturbed by the impious, such as grave robbers, encouraged by the rich pickings available if the friends and relatives of the dead had failed to heed the injunctions contained in the law which explains, 'Por qué razón non deben meter ornamentos preciados a los muertos'

³ I have not read of any Castilian charnel houses, but, as already discussed in the Introduction, Juan Álvarez Gato wrote a poem concerning 'vna pared hecha de huesos de defuntos' (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 251).

(Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 389; PI, TXIII, Ley XIII). This law sought to discourage the practice of burying the dead with costly items because, 'los homes malos por cobdicia de tomar aquellos ornamentos que les meten, quebrantan los luziellos et desotierren los muertos' (1972: I, 389; PI, TXIII, Ley XIII). Such despoliation of a grave in pursuit of its contents is related in one of the *exempla* contained in *El conde Lucanor*, and in this case not only is the grave opened, but the body is treated with little respect:

acaesçió que murió un omne muy rico, et enterraron con él muy ricos paños et otras cosas que valían mucho. [...] Desque la noche vino, fueron el mançebo et su hermana a la fuessa del muerto, et avriéronla, et quando le cuydaron tirar aquellos paños muy preçiados que tenía vestidos, non pudieron sinon rompiendo los paños o crebando las cervizes del muerto [...] la hermana [...] fue tomar con las manos, muy sin duelo et sin piedat, de la cabeça del muerto et descoiuntólo todo, et sacó los paños que tenía vestidos, et tomaron quanto y estava (Manuel 1969: 233).

According to the *Partidas* individuals might also desecrate graves, 'con cobdicia de levar las piedras o los ladrillos que eran puestos en los monumentos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 582; PVII, TIX, Ley XII), or for the express purpose of dishonouring the dead, 'por deshonnar los cuerpos sacando los huesos, et echándolos o arrastrándolos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 582; PVII, TIX, Ley XII). Those suspected of such a crime could be accused by the family of the dead person and, if found guilty, forced to pay compensation, 'Et debe guardar el judgador que lo non estime a menos de ciento maravedís ayuso' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 390; PI, TXIII, Ley XIV) or face more severe punishments such as forced labour, exile or even death (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 582; PVII, TIX, Ley XII). More sinister reasons for disturbing graves motivated the actions of Claudina, Celestina's mentor, who 'andava a media noche de cimiterio en cimiterio buscando aparejos para nuestro officio como de dfa. Ni dexava christianos ni moros ni judíos cuyos enterramientos no visitava' (Rojas 1998: 196). The 'officio' referred to is witchcraft and the items she sought were presumably among those of interest to the practitioners of 'nigromancia' described in the *Siete Partidas* as 'andando

de noche buscando [...] cosas [...] en los lugares extraños' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: III, 668; PVII, TXXIII, Ley II).

The living, then, could either help or hinder the souls of the dead. If they chose to assist the souls in Purgatory, their interventions could continue for varying lengths of time and require varying degrees of effort. The link between living and dead and the intercession of the former for the latter was expressed at its simplest in the addition of a 'que Dios haya', a 'que Dios perdone' or some other variant of the same sentiment spoken after the name of a deceased person. Celestina, for example, reminds Pármemo of 'tu madre, que Dios haya' (Rojas 1998: 120, 197, 198) and after her death Elicia speaks of Celestina in exactly the same terms, 'jamás perderá aquella casa el nombre de Celestina, que Dios aya' (1998: 300). Areúsa declares of Celestina, Sempronio and Pármemo, 'no ha ocho días que los vi bivos y ya podemos dezir: perdónelos Dios' (Rojas 1998: 296). As she has just learned of their deaths, it is clear that the phrase is being employed as a periphrasis for 'and now they are dead'. Given the immorality of Celestina and her associates such exclamations for divine pardon for the dead cannot be accepted entirely at face value. The frequency with which they use such phrases suggests that they may have been a conventional reflex when referring to the dead, or, like many other of Celestina's religious utterances, be designed to disguise a lack of real piety. The phrases do, however, appear in less ambiguous contexts. Fernando del Pulgar wrote to the 'Gran Cardenal' in 1479 about, 'la muerte del duque vuestro hermano, que Dios haya' (1929: 75; *Letra xv*) and used a fuller version of the phrase when referring to the 'rey don Enrique vuestro hermano, cuya ánima Dios haya' (1929: 78; *Letra xvi*) in a letter to Queen Isabel. Another variant is the exclamation '¡Dios le aya el ánima!' (Martínez de Toledo 1979: 244) which the Arcipreste de Talavera included in one of his imagined monologues, in this case of a person exclaiming at the unexpected death of an

acquaintance. Longer prayers could, of course, also be said for the deceased by their friends and acquaintances. More assistance for the soul could be purchased from the *oradores*, but precisely because payment was necessary, the quantity and quality varied according to the deceased's wealth and wishes, from the creation of chantries to the saying of a small number of masses.⁴ Such provisions intended to benefit the soul of the deceased could be extremely costly, particularly if they included the foundation of chantries. Juan I ordered the creation of seven 'Capellanías perpétuas' to be paid for with, 'la cabeza del pecho de los judíos de la cibdad de Toledo diez mil e quinientos maravedís, en tal manera que haya cada capellanía mil e quinientos maravedís' (López de Ayala 1914b: 186). Chantries, where masses and prayers for the deceased were said on a daily basis, could only be established by the very rich as the services of the priests had to be paid for, along with all the necessary equipment and clothing, such as 'vestimentas, e ornamentos de paño de oro e de seda, e cruces, e calices de oro e de plata, e imágenes, e relicarios' (López de Ayala 1914b: 186). In addition to the one-off expenditure, resources had to be provided for ongoing costs, in Enrique III's case:

para dos cirios que estén ante la mi sepultura ardiendo a las horas que se dixerén las Horas en la dicha capilla, e otrosí para aceyte, e para dos lámparas que ahí mando que se pongan, que ardan de día e de noche, e para reparamiento de las vestiduras e ornamentos que yo mando a la dicha capilla, quatro mil maravedís de moneda vieja en cada año (Pérez de Guzmán 1914b: 265).

If the testator could not afford such outlays, or if he wished to secure additional intercession for his soul, he could specify that there be anniversaries or commemorations of the day of the burial. Juan I ordered, 'que se fagan [...] en la dicha nuestra capilla doce aniversarios cada año, conviene a saber, cada mes un aniversario, en tal día como el nuestro cuerpo fuere enterrado' (López de Ayala 1914b: 186). Non-recurring but lengthy blocks of masses could also be purchased: Enrique III ordered

⁴ For a brief discussion of the costs and consequently the different segments of society to whom the various options, including the endowment of a new religious establishment, the creation of a chantry, or the purchase of a given number of masses, were available, see Carlé (1985: 375-381).

'que digan por mi ánima diez mil Misas, e que se canten quíñientos treintenarios' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914b: 265).

Unfortunately for the deceased, such wishes might not be honoured by the executors. Non-implementation of the will could lead to serious consequences for the deceased's soul, 'The amount of time it would take for one to be released from purgatory could be seriously lengthened by lax or negligent executors' (Eire 1995: 39), and this was a problem addressed by Church councils from the twelfth century onwards (Guiance 1999: 66-67). One of Sánchez de Vercial's *exempla* explains that, 'Las mandas de los finados luego se deven pagar, / e los que lo non fazen en brebre an de penar' (1961: 233). The example given is of a knight who, 'al tiempo de su muerte mandó a un pariente que vendiesse su cavallo e lo que valiesse que lo diesse a los pobres por su ánima' (1961: 233). The relative kept the horse and was subsequently visited by the deceased who informed him that he had been punished for thirty days and was only now proceeding to Heaven. Non-implementation also had a negative effect on the soul of the fraudulent executor: he was carried off by devils (1961: 233). Threats of such punishments were used in wills to oblige both executors and heirs to carry out the deceased's wishes. Celestina, after telling Pármeneo of his father's death and how she was placed *in loco parentis*, informs Pármeneo of, 'las malediciones, que tus padres te pusieron si me fuesses inobediente' (Rojas 1998: 122). In this particular case the *malediciones* may well have been invented by Celestina in order to reinforce her hold over Pármeneo, but that he does not challenge her suggests that he at least thought it possible that his parents should have made a provision of this sort. Pedro Carrillo de Huete, *halconero mayor* of Juan II, ordered that his heirs respect the provisions of his will, made in 1446, 'so pena de la mi maldición' (Torres Fontes 1987: 450), Beatriz de Portugal, condesa de Buelna ordered her daughters to respect her will, also written in

1446, stating that if they did not, 'hayan la ira e maldición de Dios e de sancta María, e de todos los santos e santas e la mía' (1807: 268) and Fernando de Rojas himself, having named his executors, added, 'tal qual ellos lo hizieren por mi ányma, tal depare Dios quien lo aga por las suyas' (Valle Lersundi 1929: 370), a reminder that any neglect which harmed his soul's prospect could also damage theirs.

3. *Defensores* and the mingling of secular and sacred in funeral customs

The spiritual consequences of particular types of burial and commemoration, were not, however, the only factors guiding the wishes of the deceased or the actions of the bereaved. Within the general framework of what was physically and financially possible and the constraints of what was considered socially acceptable for an individual of any given rank, the testator or his family could make certain choices concerning their funeral and burial, some of them inspired by piety, others by considerations of honour and a desire to demonstrate their prominent position in the community. We have already examined the degree to which wealth determined the spiritual assistance which could be purchased for the soul of the deceased. To the extent that one demonstrated wealth when establishing a chantry or paying for thousands of masses to be said for one's soul, it could be argued that such actions were motivated by the desire to demonstrate social status. As Carlé has observed, ostentatious displays of wealth had long been considered appropriate for the nobility:

Para la nobleza, el desprendimiento, la generosidad, era lo que la tradición secular exigía. Esa tradición, unida a la fuerza de la opinión pública, impuso la dadivosidad y los gastos de ostentación: una y otros, manifestación externa que acreditaba la condición social y daba prestigio (1988: 547).

Nonetheless they remained inherently religious acts, and the fact that only priests could say the masses very clearly reinforced the *oradores'* supremacy in matters spiritual. In other areas of funeral practice, however, it is much more difficult to assess whether the impetus was primarily secular or religious.

Such is the case of the funeral cortege. Although all corpses had to be transported from the place of death to the place of interment, the bier and number of assistants could vary in lavishness. In the case of the Marqués-Duque de Cádiz, Don

Rodrigo Ponce de León, who died on 27 August 1492, his corpse was carried on, 'unas andas enforradas de terciopelo negro' (Bernáldez 1914: 645). The size of the procession accompanying the deceased tended to reflect their status, 'Une assistance nombreuse aux obsèques d'un noble marque son importance sociale' (Gerbet 1979: 324). In *Arnalte y Lucenda*, Arnalte narrates that, 'murió un principal cavallero de aquella cibdad nuestra; y como hombre de mucha autoridad y honra fuese, todas las gentes de aquella cibdad e de la corte a su enterramiento vinieron' (San Pedro 1973: 101). Similarly, the Marqués-Duque's body was attended by:

los eclesiásticos, el Provisor e todos los más honrados canónigos de la iglesia mayor, e arcedianos, e dignidades, e los obispos que se hallaron en la ciudad; e de lo seglar el conde de Cifuentes, asistente de Sevilla, y la mayor parte del rejimiento de la ciudad de veintiquatros y alcaydes mayores, e otras gentes, que no cabían por todas las calles (Bernáldez 1914: 645).

The fact that Bernáldez is particularly careful to relate the high social status of a number of the mourners, with even the clerics being those of high rank and, 'los más honrados', suggests that their presence brought worldly honour to the deceased. The number of mourners, in the Marqués-Duque's case so numerous that the procession could only move through the streets with extreme difficulty, may also be linked to considerations of honour. As Carlé has observed, 'en una sociedad desordenada y, por momentos, convulsa, en la que el derecho rara vez triunfaba sobre la fuerza [...] un individuo veía supeditada la eficacia de su acción, en mayor o menor grado, a la del grupo que lo rodeaba, el número y la calidad de sus componentes' (1993: 171). A cortege swollen by retainers, vassals and the residents of a location in the sphere of influence of a particular magnate demonstrated his, and his successor's, strong power-base and thus gave a clear indication of their political power, influence and prestige.

The requests by certain testators for there to be a lack of pomp implies that they at least felt that the details of many funerals were dictated by an un-Christian attention

to material displays of wealth and status. According to the author of the *Continuación de la Crónica de Pulgar*, Queen Isabel was buried, 'humilmente, sin pompa alguna, como por su testamento antes que muriese había mandado hacer' (1914: 523). Although her corpse was taken to Granada 'de mucha gente acompañada' (*Continuación* 1914: 523), and she was buried 'con aquellas honras y obsequias que a tan excelente y bien aventurada reyna convenía' (Bernáldez 1914: 722), her wish for simplicity perhaps ensured that, within the bounds of what was deemed suitable for a monarch, the display was not as great as it might have been. Though probably not a factor in Queen Isabel's case, financial considerations may also have influenced some testators' wish for simplicity. In the testament of the Salamancan *caballero* Juan de Texeda, written in 1522:

Este, a la hora de precisar su entierro, manda que se haga "onestamente", "sin pompa ni vana gloria del mundo", pero además "escusando gastos". Aparece, pues, la noción económica como condicionante en las disposiciones de un caballero al parecer entrado en años (López Benito 1991: 288).

Despite the fact that pomp could be rejected for religious reasons, the presence of 'mucha gente' accompanying the deceased was not necessarily a sign of worldly vanity since religious factors could also dictate the presence of large numbers of mourners. In the context of late medieval Bury St Edmunds, Robert Dinn has noted that efforts were made by testators:

to maximize the number of potential intercessors at their funerals, so as to reflect both their devotion and their wealth and status within the community. These arrangements were believed to reduce the degree of their souls' suffering in purgatory (1992: 156).

Poor people were often recruited to swell the ranks of the procession and, 'in return for their liveries or other bequests the poor had a reciprocal obligation to pray for their benefactors' souls' (Dinn 1992: 156). Not all testators made explicit the reasons for their charity to the poor. Enrique III simply stated, 'quel día de mi enterramiento den de

vestir a seiscientos pobres, a los ciento cada ocho varas de paño de color, e a los quíñientos, capas e sayos de sayal; otrosí, que les den de comer los nueve días que durare mi enterramiento' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914b: 265). Nonetheless, some testators did make clear the religious motivation underlying their charity. Pedro Girón, for example, ordered that, 'por reverencia de Nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo e por memoria de la su santa Pasión e muerte que vistan treinta e tres pobres de capas e sayos el día de mi enterramiento, a memoria de los treinta e tres años que en esta presente vida vivió' (Viña Brito 1989: 499).

Choices made regarding burial location present a similar mixture of secular and religious motivations to those surrounding charity or the composition of the cortege. The choice of burial place might be made for family reasons. Juan I chose to be buried near his father and mother, in Toledo, and from Juan's will we learn that his wife, Queen Leonor had requested, 'que fuese enterrado el su cuerpo a do nos ordenásemos nuestra sepultura' (López de Ayala 1914b: 186). Choosing to be buried near one's ancestors or spouse was not necessarily due to affection, but could also be intended to emphasise the connection between oneself and worthy and honourable family members, to the benefit of one's own honour. This may be the case with Alfonso XI, who was translated from Sevilla to Cordoba in 1371, to be buried near his father, because, 'así lo avía mandado en su testamento' (López de Ayala 1914a: 9), but Alfonso could have had little contact with his father, who died when Alfonso was just over one year old. Enrique II's choice might appear to have been made for religious reasons since he chose the:

Iglesia de Sancta María de Toledo, delante de aquel lugar do anduvo la Virgen Sancta María [...] en la qual nos avemos muy grand fiucia e devoción, porque nos acorrió e libró de muchas priesas e peligros (Enrique II 1914: 39).

Despite these explicit words concerning Enrique's devotion to the Virgin, Guiance believes the choice of Toledo by the early Trastámara monarchs, 'coincide con la necesidad de la dinastía de aproximarse a sus antepasados y legitimar sus orígenes' (1998: 314). Queen Isabel and King Fernando, however, chose to be buried in the 'reino e ciudad de Granada, el qual reyno sus altezas habían ganado con mucho trabajo' (*Continuación* 1914: 523), which may perhaps be taken as a sign that they felt they deserved renown in their own right for their many exploits, the most notable of which, as far as they were concerned, was the conquest of Granada. This is the opinion of Menjot who states that, 'le désir d'Alphonse X et de son père d'être enterré dans la région qu'ils avaient conquise – c'est le même désir qui amena Isabelle à choisir sa sépulture à Grenade' (1988: 136-137). On the other hand, the Reconquest, as a crusade against the infidel, had a strong religious element and the choice to be buried in these territories cannot therefore be understood solely as an assertion of military might. On occasion, much more prosaic reasons could also be at work. Fernando IV (1295-1312) appears to have been buried in the most convenient location:

acordaron de levar a enterrar el cuerpo del rey don Fernando [...] a la ciubdat de Córdoba, que era cerca dende; ca non le podían levar a Toledo nin a Sevilla por razón de las muy grandes calenturas que facía (*Crónica AXI* 1919: 173).

Burial anywhere within churches was restricted, though the limitations established by Alfonso X were sufficiently wide to include quite a significant number of people:

Enterrar non deben a otro ninguno dentro en la eglesia sinon a estas personas ciertas que son nombradas en esta ley, así como los reyes et las reynas et sus fijos, et los obispos, et los abades, et los priores, et los maestros et los comendadores que son perlados de las órdenes et de las eglesias conventuales, et los ricos homes, et los otros hombres honrados que ficiesen eglesias de nuevo o monesterios, et escogesen en ellas sus sepolturas: et todo otro home quier sea clérigo o lego que lo meresciese por santidad de buena vida et de buenas obras (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 388; PI, TXIII, Ley XI).

Under this legislation, burial anywhere in a church was a mark of status and not necessarily a reflection of an individual's holiness. As time passed the Church's opposition to an increase in church burials weakened:

El poder del dinero y otras ventajas de toda índole la llevaron a reconsiderar su postura poco a poco. Y pronto las naves y capillas se llenarían de sepulturas y sepulcros [...]. En adelante no era todo la concesión de un enterramiento dentro del templo, sino conseguir la mejor posición, cerca del altar o de los lugares con más alto grado de sacralidad (Martínez Gil 1996: 93).

The desire to be buried in particularly sacred parts of churches had already existed in the thirteenth century. Under the title of 'Quáles son las cosas que los homes facen que tienen daño a los muertos, et non a ellos pro' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 166; PI, TIV, Ley XCVIII), the *Siete Partidas* includes burying the dead close to the altar which, 'non debe ser fecho sinon a home que fuese santo por honra de Dios' (1972: I, 166; PI, TIV, Ley XCVIII). As noted by Martínez Gil, as church burials became more common, sites close to the altar became increasingly sought after. This may have been because burial in such a prominent position reflected the high status of the family of the dead person. Royer de Cardinal concludes that the choice of burial location was often influenced by worldly considerations, particularly among the nobility:

Una nota sobresaliente en todas las disposiciones, sean testamentarias, sean [...] normativas, es la soberbia que muestran tener hacia la estirpe y hacia su persona. Naturalmente estamos hablando de los más altos sectores sociales, son los que pertenecen a la nobleza quienes se pueden dar el lujo de hacerse enterrar en las gradas del altar ([1992 (?): 198).

On the other hand, burial near the altar may also have been intended to benefit the dead spiritually, since the corpse was thus placed close to the holiest part of the church, where, during the mass, bread was transubstantiated into the body of Christ. Ariès explains that, 'the underlying reason for burial *apud ecclesiam* was the sacrifice of the Mass' (1981: 79) and he also notes that, 'the choicest and most expensive location [for burials] was the choir, near the altar where Mass was said' (1981: 79). The *exemplum* of

a nun who could not control her tongue and who, after her death was buried 'dentro en la iglesia' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 193) attempts to counter the perception that such a burial-place would of itself ensure salvation. A vision shows half of her corpse in flames and traces of the fire are seen 'ante el altar' (1961: 193), presumably because her body had been buried in this highly sacred location. That her body is burned demonstrates, 'que los que non son perdonados en este mundo de sus pecados, que non les aprovecha lugar sagrado después de la muerte para se escusar del juyzio de Dios' (Sánchez de Vercial 1961: 193). It is probably impossible now to be sure whether the spot in front of the altar was the most sought after because of its religious significance or because it demonstrated wealth and status, or which was the more decisive factor when a combination of the secular and spiritual influenced an individual's choice.

Other elements of funeral ritual, including the clothes worn by the deceased, would seem to provide a clearer insight into the motivation of the deceased or their family. Among 'los poderosos [...] resulta frecuente encontrar personajes que decidían expresamente, en señal de humildad, ser enterrados, por ejemplo, con los hábitos de una orden monástica determinada' (Herrero 1996: 42). Among these were Queen Isabel, whose corpse was attired in 'el hábito del Señor Sanct Francisco' (*Continuación* 1914: 523), Enrique II who chose the 'hábito de Sancto Domingo de la Orden de los Predicadores' (López de Ayala 1914a: 37-38) and the Condesa de Buelna, Doña Beatriz, who requested in 1446, 'que me vistan el hábito del señor santo Domingo' (1807: 263).⁵ Nonetheless, it was not uncommon for the wealthy to be buried wearing rich garments and accompanied by precious objects, at least in part as a way of displaying wealth and social status. The *Partidas* noted that the practice was costly to the living since they were burying precious items, 'tiene daño a los vivos, ca las pierden

metiéndolas en lugar onde non las pueden tomar' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 389; PI, TXIII, Ley XIII), a consideration which no doubt merely served to encourage those who wished to display their wealth. While the *Siete Partidas* admitted that the practice of interring the dead with costly items lacked a theological basis, 'non tiene pro a los muertos en este mundo nin en el otro' (1972: I, 389; PI, TXIII, Ley XIII), it was not totally condemned, but rather was restricted to *oradores* and *defensores*, a fact which suggests that such a burial would have denoted high social status:

Ricas vestiduras nin otros ornamentos preciados así como oro o plata non deben meter a los muertos sinon a personas ciertas, así como a rey o a reyna, o a alguno de los sus fijos, o a otro home honrado o caballero a quien soterrasen segunt la costumbre de la tierra, o obispo o clérigo, a quien deben soterrar con las vestimentas que les pertenesce segunt la orden que han (1972: I, 389; PI, TXIII, Ley XIII).

Vovelle relates that with regard to the corpse of a warrior, 'La coutume franque (pays de Trèves) et, sans doute, plus largement germanique revêtait le guerrier jusqu'à l'époque mérovingienne de ses plus beaux vêtements et de ses armes' (1983: 41). In Castile the practice seems to have persisted into the thirteenth century, as suggested by the above quotation from the *Partidas* and the description of 'cómo procedió el conde Fernán González con el cadáver del conde de Tolosa' (Martínez Gil 1996: 81): the *Poema de Fernán González* relates that the conde had the corpse dressed in rich clothes. It was still in evidence among *defensores* in the fifteenth century. The Marqués-Duque de Cádiz was placed in his coffin:

vestido de una rica camisa e un jubón de brocado, e un sayo de terciopelo negro, e una marlota de brocado fasta en los pies, e unas calzas de grana, e unos borceguíes negros, e un cinto de hilo de oro, e su espada dorada ceñida, según él acostumbraba traer quando era e andaba en las guerras de los moros (Bernáldez 1914: 645).

⁵ Rucquoi analyses the increase in requests for burial in a religious habit in fifteenth-century Valladolid and notes that the popularity of the habits of particular orders fluctuated throughout the century (1988: 56).

The reference to the 'guerras de los moros' may indicate that in death, as in life, the Marqués-Duque could be seen as a warrior for God, and in that case he could not be considered to have been dressed in this manner for purely secular reasons. His was not an isolated example, however. The Duque de Medinasidonia, Don Enrique de Guzmán, who also died in 1492, was placed in 'un ataúd vestido con un jubón de brocado e calças e una ropa de tela de plata e su sombrero e espada rica, e un çinto de hilo de oro' (Barrantes Maldonado 1857: x, 388) and Pedro Niño, Conde de Buelna, in his will of 1435, written long before his death, asked that he be placed in his tomb 'vestido de falsopeto, y puesto el arnés de piernas, y los brazales y manoplas, el espada de armas puesta sobre mis pechos; y una caperuza de grana puesta en la cabeza' (1807: 241).⁶ It may well be, therefore, that certain *defensores* chose to be buried in their armour or richest clothes because, as suggested by the *Partidas*, they felt it was suitable to their status as 'home[s] honrado[s] o caballero[s]'. Given the fact that lay people could choose to be buried in humble garments, and even the habit of a religious order, the choice by a *defensor* or their family of opulent clothing such as they had worn in life would appear to indicate that, in this part of the funeral rituals at least, they wished to indicate their social status and honour rather than attitudes associated with the *oradores*.

The manner in which individuals chose to have themselves commemorated on their tombs reveals their guiding values even more lastingly than their funeral garments.

Alfonso el Sabio condemned:

aquellos que facen las sepolturas mucho altas, o las pintan, tanto que semejan más altares que monumentos, o otras sobejanías que se facen más a placer et a voluntad de los vivos, que non a pro nin a bien de los finados (1972: I, 166; PI, TIV, Ley XCVIII).

⁶ Pedro Barrantes Maldonado's *Ilustraciones de la Casa de Niebla* were completed in 1541 (1857: IX, iii).

As clearly as the clothes they wore at their funeral, the manner in which the deceased was commemorated on his tomb could demonstrate humility or serve to reinforce his honour and social status: Sancho IV and Enrique III appear dressed in Franciscan habits (Núñez Rodríguez 1988: 17-18), but many other tombs display, 'las imágenes mundanas y celebrativas de los hombres de armas' (Núñez Rodríguez 1988: 12).

According to María Jesús Gómez Barcena:

en el amplio conjunto de sepulcros del siglo XV en la Corona de Castilla predominan los ejemplos decorados con temas evangélicos, o/y con Santos. Igualmente encontramos numerosos sepulcros decorados con el tema heráldico como motivo único o combinado con otros religiosos (1988: 34n).

This suggests that there were two, distinct, lay and spiritual currents in tomb decoration, though, as we have seen is the case with *orador* and *defensor* ideology throughout this thesis, the two could be combined.⁷

The motivations underlying certain parts of the funeral ceremonies could thus be spiritual, secular, or a combination of the two: large corteges might be intended to demonstrate the powerbase of the deceased and their successor, or might be sought in order to provide the largest possible number of people to offer up prayers for their souls; funeral locations could be chosen for a variety of reasons. It is not always possible to determine which type of motivation was dominant. There were, however, certain practices which were repeatedly condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities or which clearly had no spiritual content, but which nonetheless remained an important part of funeral practice. Among the latter is the breaking of shields, a practice which would appear particularly apt for *defensores* since shields were an essential part of their military equipment and, when they displayed a coat of arms, could be interpreted as

⁷ The macabre *transi* tomb which depicted the deceased in a state of decomposition was, according to Ariès, 'rare and even almost completely absent from the great provinces of Christianity such as Italy [...], Spain, and Mediterranean France' (1981: 114) in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of the

representing the individual *defensor* who would have carried them at jousts and into battle.⁸

That the practice was lacking in spiritual content was highlighted by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in his *Confesión rimada*, who, in a section dealing with the honouring of one's parents, advised that when they died:

con sacrificios, lymosnas ⁊ orar,
sean suvenidos de nos ⁊ ayudados;
non quebrar escudos nin rostros rasgados (Foulché-Delbosc 1912: 632, my italics).

Nonetheless, the custom seems to have been a part of the funerals of certain distinguished *defensores* and points to the existence of an alternative ideology to that of the *oradores*, since its motivation cannot have been Christian. Rather it seems to derive from the wish to commemorate an individual *defensor* in a manner in accordance with his estate since the shield was a distinguishing item of equipment, required by the *defensor* during life in the performance of his duties. According to Pero Díaz de Toledo, writing in his *Diálogo e razonamiento en la muerte del marqués de Santillana*, 'en la nuestra Espania quando algund gran señor muere [...] a sus exequias quiebran escudos' (1892: 291). The author of the *Celestina comentada*, writing in the second half of the sixteenth century (Russell 1976: 175) identified Melibea's description of 'este grande strépito de armas' (Rojas 1998: 333) following Calisto's death as a reference to the breaking of arms and shields (Russell 1976: 182-183), though he also added that in his day the custom was outmoded. Alongside these general indications that the practice took place in the funerals of fifteenth century *defensores* there is also the evidence

macabre in general, Gómez Barcena has found that, 'no es un tema habitual en la escultura funeraria en Castilla y no encontramos proyección en los sepulcros del siglo xv' (1988: 34n).

⁸ Heraldic devices enabled the identification of knights in armour. The shield in particular would have assisted in this task and in the *libros de caballería* it takes on a particular significance in representing the character of the knight who carries it: the newly-made knight may carry a blank shield, but earns the right to carry a distinguishing mark by his deeds.

presented in chronicles and other historical documents. In Ávila, following the death of Enrique IV in 1474, funeral rituals were performed to mark his passing and the accession of his half-sister Isabel. Among these was a procession:

enjergados, or mourners in coarse vestments, left the church of San Juan and processed to four different points in the town. The procession was led by four men with black shields, followed by the *alférez* carrying a black banner with the royal arms. At each resting point a black shield was shattered to the accompaniment of the ritual mourning cry (*llanto*) of '¡A por buen Rey e buen Señor!' (MacKay 1985: 24).

As MacKay observes, these events were preceded by 'hastily made arrangements' (1985: 23) which necessitated the substitution of certain of the usual colours of fabric for others which were more readily available. This haste may explain why the shields did not bear the coat-of-arms of the King. In Ecija, on learning of the death of Juan I (1390) the *concejo* ordered, 'Pero González mayordomo del Concejo, que faga buscar dos escudos de las armas pintadas del dicho señor Rey para quebrar' (López de Ayala 1914c: 158) and, in the ceremony held in Arévalo to mark the death of Juan II (1454), the King's arms were visible on:

un pendón con las armas del rey Juan, armas que están igualmente en los escudos de los cuatro hombres que flanquean al alguacil. La muerte del monarca está simbolizada por la destrucción de sus armas y los gestos y gritos de los asistentes: el alguacil rompe el primer escudo en la plaza del Palacio, el segundo en la plaza de San Miguel, el tercero en la de San Pedro y el cuarto y último en la de San Martín mientras todos lloran, se mesan la cara y gritan (Martín 1991: 22).⁹

The signs of grief described above include loud cries or wailing and these are reported at the deaths of many other *defensores*. At the death of Alfonso X, el Sabio, for example, 'el infante don Juan e todos los ricos omes, e la reina de Portugal, su fija, e los otros infantes sus fijos hicieron muy grand llanto por él' (*Crónica AX* 1919: 66). Nor are indications that they were carried out limited to the written word:

⁹ Nieto Soria makes a distinction between the symbolism of the shields and the *pendones*, 'El escudo alude a la representación personal del monarca en su dimensión más humana [...]. Así sería la representación personal del poder regio frente a la institucional representada por los *pendones*' (1993: 191).

A veces la representación del planto se hizo de pincel y ninguna más expresiva que la de los cuatro tableros de la sepultura de Sancho Saiz de Carrillo [...] de Mahamud (Burgos). Tres de las tablas muestran a los hombres que hacen el planto, y en la cuarta son damas las plañideras. Post fecha obra tan curiosa en los fines del XIII o comienzos del XIV (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 522-523).

These manifestations of grief, like the breaking of shields would therefore seem to be well-established practices, dating from considerably before the fifteenth century. Similar cries of grief were made at the funeral of Alfonso VI in 1109 (Camacho Guizado 1969: 30) and, 'De los plantos reales que con tanta insistencia recogen las crónicas ninguno [fue] ponderado con más elocuencia que el de San Fernando (1252)' (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 519). Unlike the shield-breaking, the making of *llantos* was a practice shared with the *labradores*, among whom these and other signs of grief were 'costumbres tan adentradas en el espíritu popular' (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 518). Arranz Guzmán, in suggesting that, 'los intelectuales, como fieles portadores de la cultura de su época y de formas y doctrinas alejadas del hombre llano, [...] cuando alguna vez, como en el caso de Juan de Mena, [...] escribía[n] sobre estas prácticas, era para reprobar los excesos de dolor' (1986: 118) would seem, in her desire to separate the intellectual elite from the mass of the population, to be failing to differentiate between the members of the elite of medieval society. Certainly condemnations of *llantos* were made on theological grounds, both by *oradores* and *defensores* such as Pérez de Guzmán, but the ideology of the *defensores* also provided justification for such practices.

4. Consolation and the *oradores*' opposition to excessive grief

With regard to emotional displays of grief such as the *llanto*, even more so than in respect of the transport, clothing and burial of the corpse, it seems that the *defensor* and *orador* belief systems co-existed uneasily throughout the Middle Ages, resulting in frequent injunctions against practices the Church considered excessive.¹⁰ Very early on in the history of the Church lamentation was condemned as unsuitable for Christians, on the grounds that their dead were destined for glory. Psalms expressing 'esperanzada alegría' (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 513) were recommended, advice endorsed by Villena, 'dexad las tristaciones muliebres non convenibles al costante varón, a quien conviene en tales cosas seguro mostrar gesto, e más propio es por tales muertes cantar que llorar' (1976: 52, my italics). The first documented expression of the Church's opposition to the singing of laments at funerals occurred, 'en una ocasión trascendental, el III Concilio de Toledo (a. 589)' (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 514). Similar prohibitions were issued at the Provincial Council held in Valencia in 1255, the Council held in Toledo in 1323 and the 1335 Council of Alcalá (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 515). The basis for the prohibition on displays of grief among Christians is to be found in Saint Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians (4.13-14) and in the Old Testament:

Defendido aun era por la ley divina non se rascasen sobre los muertos, diziendo: *Et super mortuos non yncindetis carnes vestras.* – *Levitici 19, etc.* (Quiere dezir: 'Sobre los muertos non rasguedes vuestras carnes' - En el *Levítico*), mostrando a su santa non plazía voluntad fazer estos sentimientos por los muertos. Señal es de poca esperança e menos fe del que el muerto tanto gime, e indiçión non cuyda a mejor sea trasladado vida (Villena 1976: 122-123).

One of the laws included in the *Partidas*, entitled 'Que non tiene pro et tiene daño en facer duelo por los muertos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 166; PI, TIV, Ley XCIX), explains how pagans mourned their dead in a manner unbefitting Christians,

¹⁰ Henceforth when I refer to certain mourning practices as 'excessive', this is to be understood as an indication of the Church's view of them.

who believe in the survival of the soul. Unsuitable manifestations of grief described in the *Siete Partidas* include, 'los duelos que facen los homes en que se mesan los cabellos, o se rompen las caras et las desafiguran, o se fieren de guisa que vengan a lisi3n o a muerte' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 169; PI, TIV Ley C).¹¹ Such acts were to be punished by exclusion from the sacraments until the wounds had healed and the guilty parties had done penance, unless, of course, they became ill and were in danger of dying themselves, in which case everything possible was to be done to safeguard their souls. The responses of Garcilaso's sister and of his mother's female attendants, as described in G3mez Manrique's *La Defunzi3n del noble cavallero Garcilasso de la Vega*, include the most common signs of excessive grieving. The former:

sali3 con vn grito muy desigualado
ronpiendo sus ropas despu3s del tocado,
faziendo en si mesma crueles fatigas,
sus propias manos seyendo enemigas,
a su lindo rostro en vltimo grado (1991a: I, 112).

This piercing shriek and the tearing of clothes and face is complemented by the 'dueñas e donzellas' who make 'vn llanto muy fuerte' and continue to demonstrate their extreme grief:

Diziendo palabras a Dios desplazientes,
con sus mesmas vñas sus fazes ronpían,
e de sus cabellos los suelos cobrían,
vertiendo sus ojos más agua que fuentes (1991a: I, 113).

They express themselves in words unsuitable for Christians, 'a Dios desplazientes', tear at their flesh and hair and weep copiously.¹² Collapse, 'a kind of false, or sympathetic,

¹¹ Such practices could also express other types of grief. In cases of rape, 'Clawing her cheeks, a rape victim made the customary sign of a woman in mourning, but now she grieved for the loss of her chastity and her honour' (Dillard 1984: 184). In the trivial context of the loss of an egg, Mart3nez de Toledo gives the owner's words of exaggerated grief, '¡Maldita sea mi ventura e mi vida sin3n est3 en punto de rascarme o de me mesar toda!' (1979: 149).

¹² Blaspheming is also mentioned as a response to bereavement in Pedro V3lez de Guevara's *dezir* on the death of Enrique III in 1406, 'a Dios enojavan nuestros alaridos' (*Baena* 1993: 56).

death' (Wardropper 1964: 143) was also a not infrequent response to bereavement.¹³ In *Grisel y Mirabella* the Queen collapses from grief, 'el mucho dolor y angustias por la muerte dela hija lançado la derribó muerta en el suelo' (Flores 1974: 358) and Leriano's mother also faints (San Pedro 1985: 172). In Santillana's *Comedieta de Ponza* the Queen of Aragón's grief on hearing of her sons' defeat and capture is so great that her collapse is followed by death:

Leýda la carta o letra, cayó
en tierra, privada de fabla e sentido,
e de todo punto el ánima dio (1988: 194).

That these extreme expressions of grief were not simply literary inventions is attested by the legal prohibitions against them and they also appear in chronicles. In 1356, for example, Queen María, mother of Pedro I, 'cayó en tierra sin ningún sentido como muerta, e con ella la Condesa Doña Juana muger del Conde Don Enrique' (López de Ayala 1919: 471) when the knights who had been accompanying them were killed on the orders of Pedro I.¹⁴

In addition to threatening the faith and orthodoxy of the living, displays of grief could threaten the safety of the souls of the dying. Excessive grieving on the part of relatives or friends round the death-bed could hinder the performance of the necessary rituals and would no doubt have distracted the dying person from making the various prayers encouraged in the *Ars moriendi*. The *Siete Partidas* sought to prevent such displays by decreeing that:

¹³ Collapse could also occur as a reaction to positive events, as in the case of a noble who died on learning of his King's victory, 'tan grande fue el gozo que don Íñigo de Guevara desta vitoria ovo que súpitamente murió, sin haber rescebido ninguna herida en aquella batalla' (Valera 1914: 20). Leriano too collapses, though not fatally, on seeing the *auctor* returning to the prison to set him free, 'lo uno de la poca fuerça y lo otro de súpito bien, perdido el sentido cayó en el suelo de dentro de la casa' (San Pedro 1985: 112).

¹⁴ García Jiménez has listed and analysed the frequency with which these and various other manifestations of grief occur in medieval Castilian elegy (1994: 148-159). Haywood (2000b) goes further than listing and categorising since her article 'is part of a work in progress whose object is to discover whether there was a living tradition of lament which may have been mediated into literary depictions of

quando los clérigos aduxiesen la cruz a la casa onde el muerto estodiese, et oyesen que facían ruído dando voces por el home, o endechando, que se tornasen con ella et non la metiesen ahí onde tales duelos feciesen (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 170; PI, TIV, Ley C).

At the Cortes held in Soria in 1380 by Juan I similar legislation was passed:

en las actas [...] se encuentra la orden expresa de que si un clérigo fuera a asistir a un muerto y encontrara allí a sus familiares realizando gestos de dolor a la usanza pagana, esto es, mesándose los cabellos o las barbas, arañándose la cara o el pecho, o dando grandes gritos, debía abandonar inmediatamente el lugar, prohibiendo la entrada en la iglesia a estas personas durante un mes y no permitiendo el enterramiento del cuerpo hasta después de nueve días. Por su parte, la justicia real decretaba la confiscación de bienes para todos los que habían participado en esta demostración de heterodoxia. A pesar de la dureza de esta ley no parece que su aplicación fuera estricta y, en todo caso, su efectividad fue prácticamente nula ya que en años sucesivos aparece la misma condena una y otra vez (Herrero 1996: 43-44).

Noisy displays of grief on the way to the church or on the way from the church to the graveyard could also have potentially dramatic consequences if the clerics involved held to the law, since the *Partidas* ordered, 'que dexasen los clérigos de soterrarle et de acomendar el alma a Dios diciendo sobre él aquellas oraciones que son establecidas; et esto fasta que callasen' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 170; PI, TIV, Ley C). Unsuitable grief could even continue within the church, and the *Siete Partidas* decreed that the faces of the dead were to be covered, 'porque los homes en catándolos non se moviesen a facer duelo por ellos' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 170; PI, TIV, Ley C). To further reduce the risk of mourners behaving unsuitably in church, their conduct was regulated:

quando toviesen el cuerpo del muerto en la eglesia [...] non deben llorar nin dar voces por que se estorben de decir las Horas, ca en aquella sazón todos deben callar et rogar a Dios por los muertos que les haya merced a las almas. Et esto deben facer mayormiente en quanto dixieren la misa, porque estonce consagran el cuerpo et la sangre de nuestro señor Iesu Cristo: ca tan noble et tan santa cosa es esta, que todo lo al debe ser dexado mientra esto fecieren, asi que non pueda venir por ello destorbo nin embargo al clérigo que lo consagrare (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 170; PI, TIV, Ley C).

Anyone who failed to abide by these guidelines could be ejected from the church. Interestingly, the law says that this should be the case 'quier sea clérigo o lego' (1972: I, 170; PI, TIV, Ley C), which suggests that such practices were so widespread that even the clergy could not be counted on to preserve a Christian silence. The inclusion of penalties for kissing the dead or even throwing oneself on their bier, 'si alguno besase al muerto o se echase con él en el lecho, que ayunase ocho días a pan et a agua, et que le non recibiesen en la iglesia por un mes' (1972: I, 170; PI, TIV, Ley C), suggests that the holy surroundings did not necessarily inhibit some mourners.

Despite all the ecclesiastical and secular legislation condemning certain mourning practices, nine centuries after the council of Toledo, at which laments had been condemned as incompatible with Christian faith, the matter was still a concern for the ecclesiastical authorities: at the 'concilio provincial de Aranda de 1473, vemos repetidas las mismas condenas a estas actitudes funerarias' (Herrero 1996: 46). Nor did such mourning displays cease with the end of the fifteenth century:

When Charles V died at Yuste in 1558, his servants cried out loud, 'shouting, wailing, slapping their faces, and knocking their heads against the wall.' In 1569 the same thing occurred at the funeral of Philip II's wife, Elizabeth of Valois: loud, uncontrollable weeping seized the ladies at court and bystanders on the streets, and the grieving cries emanating from the Alcazar could be heard at some distance (Eire 1995: 158).

That displays of excessive grief continued unabated throughout the Middle Ages, despite the efforts of Church and monarchs, and in fact continued to be a part of the public reaction to a royal death into the sixteenth century, suggests that they had deep roots in secular culture.

However, attempts were made to temper grief by means other than legislation. The topic of consolatory literature is a vast one and outwith the scope of this study:

many consolations could be and were offered to the bereaved in the Middle Ages.¹⁵ Some were those used in ancient times, but others were specifically Christian. Although Carr has not 'hallado mucha evidencia de una tradición consolatoria literaria durante el medievo español' (Villena 1976: lxxxvii, n) prior to Villena's *Tratado de la consolación* and Cátedra has described the consolatory letter as one of the genres, 'que afloran de modo especial en el siglo XV' (1993: 2), this is not to say that no consolatory thoughts were expressed prior to the fifteenth century. The *Partidas* explained that Christian faith should be a source of hope, 'dixo el apóstol sant Pablo que non se entristeciesen por los que finaban, como facían las otras gentes que non habían creencia nin esperaban de resucitar: ca los que mueren non se pierden segunt la fe católica' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 168; PI, TIV, Ley XCIX). Villena, in his *Tratado de la consolación*, followed in this Pauline tradition and attempted to demonstrate that, 'nos avemos de alegrar' (1976: 45) if the dead died well and he argued that grief was unreasonable for the Christian because his belief in the resurrection of the dead and life of the world to come enabled him to see death as a mere stage on the soul's journey, rather than the journey's end, 'Tanta ardençia de la fe aver deve que más sea el gozo de los bienes esperados futuros que el pesar de las pasiones presentes' (1976: 122). This is not to say that some grief was not thought natural and permissible, 'non puede ser que el home non se duela mucho naturalmiente quando pierde cosa en que ha grant debdo o grant amor' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 167; PI, TIV, Ley XCIX), but it was not to lead practices fitting only for pagans, a point made by Pedro de Luna (c. 1328 - c. 1423),

¹⁵ See George W. McClure (1991: 5-17) for a brief historical overview of the development of the consolatory tradition from antiquity to the Renaissance. Derek C. Carr (Villena 1976: lxxiv-lxxxiii) places more stress on the continuity of the *topoi* from the classical period to the Middle Ages, and gives examples of the most common of these. Cátedra (1993) finds that the fifteenth century saw the flowering of the consolatory letter as a form in Castile, and lists surviving examples. One of these, Gómez Manrique's letter to the Bishop of Calahorra on the death of his father, Santillana, contains an apology for having 'dexado de escreuir a vuestra reuerencia, segund se suele acostumbrar en los senblantes casos de dolor entre los que se aman' (1991a: II, 7, my italics), which reinforces Cátedra's contention that such letters were not uncommon in this period.

also known as the 'Antipapa Luna' or Benedict XIII, in his *Libro de las consolaciones de la vida*:

dice sant Gerónimo: [...] 'Cesen las lágrimas, ca debe de haber departimiento entre los paganos que lloran a sus muertos, por que piensan que para siempre son muertos, non habiendo esperanza alguna de la resurrección, et nosotros que creemos que morir non es fin de la natura humana, pues que otra vez ha de resurgir, mas es fin desta vida, et por ende non debemos llorar (1952: 581).

The 'exçesivos duelos' (Villena 1976: 120) of the pagans are similarly explained by Villena in terms of their lack of hope in the resurrection, 'Entre los gentiles, que eran gente syn fe e non creýan resurección de los muertos, era bien por los muertos llorar, pues cuydavan que el ánima e el cuerpo en uno muriesen' (1976: 120). Christians, who believed in both the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of the soul were rather to turn from grief and occupy themselves in assisting the dead in the afterlife, 'habiendo piedat de sus almas por los pecados que han fecho, o cobdiciando que les faga Dios merced et les perdone, tales duelos como estos son buenos' (Alfonso el Sabio, 1972: I, 169; PI, TIV, Ley C). That the 'posibilidad de ayuda a los que esperan la vida eterna era un motivo de consuelo para los vivos' (Bejarano Rubio 1990: 58) is evidenced in the letter written by Fernando 'el Católico' in 1475 to console his father on the death of the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Fernando's brother:

el mejor remedio que se puede fallar para esto es facer tales obras por su ánima que, si en algo su conciencia va cargada, sea descargada para ante Dios; y así suplico a Vuestra Majestad la muerte del dicho Arçobispo, aunque le aya seydo buen fijo e a mí buen hermano, y a Vuestra Alteza y a mí faga grand mengua, quiera tomar con paciencia (Paz y Mélia 1914: 206).

Fernando's grief seems to have been mitigated by the thought that he and his father could assist the deceased by carrying out 'obras por su ánima'.

5. *Fortaleza*, grief and the *defensores*

Christian faith could lead to an acceptance of death, both one's own and that of others, but the *defensor* ideology provided its own, distinct, rationale for maintaining emotional composure. Again, it was granted that grief was natural, but it was nonetheless to be overcome, 'Humano es aver desto algunt sentimiento, e pueril non desecharlo con la razón, dándovos a la virtud de fortaleza e paçiençia' (Villena 1976: 117). Mastering one's grief was seen as an integral part of *fortaleza*, that virtue so greatly prized by the *defensores*. According to the *Visión deleitable*, 'la primera fortaleza es supeditar y enseñorear las pasiones propias, et gran virtud es no ser hombre vencido de las cosas tristes, ni ser mudado por los infortunios o adversidades' (Torre 1950: 390). In Gómez Manrique's *Defunzió*n the messenger praises Garcilaso's mother's male ancestors whose *fortaleza* enabled them to remain unmoved by any variation in their fortune, describing them as:

[...] grandes varones,
 los quales pasaron con gestos yguales
 triunfos, plazerres, angustias e males
 e buenas andanças e tribulaçiones
 sin fer diferençia en sus coraçones
 cuya fortaleza jamás se mudaua (1991a: I, 110).

Emotional restraint is seen as praiseworthy in the chronicle reports of *caballero* fathers who, even in the face of the death of their offspring, remain largely unmoved. In 1294 Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán even offered a knife to be used to cut his son's throat, rather than lose his honour and fail in his duty to his liege-lord by surrendering Tarifa:

el infante don Juan tenía un mozo pequeño, fijo deste Alfonso Pérez, e envió decir a este don Alfonso Pérez que le diese la villa, e si non, que le mataría el fijo que él tenía. E don Alfonso Pérez le dijo que la villa que gela non daríe; que cuanto por la muerte de su fijo, que él le daría el cuchillo con que lo matase; e alanzóles de encima del adarve un cuchillo, e dijo que ante quería que le matasen aquel fijo e otros cinco si los tovese, que non darle la villa del Rey su señor, de que él ficiera

omenaje; e el infante don Juan con saña mandó matar su fijo antél, e con todo esto nunca pudo tomar la villa (*Crónica SIV* 1919: 89).

A similarly unemotional attitude was shown in 1407, a little over a hundred years later, by the adelantado Perafán whose son had just died in battle. He showed no outward signs of grief and when he spoke on the subject he expressed his satisfaction that his son had died in the service of God, the King and the Infante Fernando, the King's brother, in other words, in fulfilling his role as a *defensor*:

desque el Infante lo supo, fue por ello muy triste, e fue ver al Adelantado e a le consolar en la muerte del hijo, al qual el Adelantado dixo que le tenía en merced lo que le decía, pero quél estaba muy consolado en su hijo ser muerto en servicio de Dios e del Rey e suyo, e quel mayor pesar que tenía de la muerte de su hijo e de los que con él murieran, era por ser muertos por su poco saber e mala ordenanza; e que *para esto eran los caballeros e hijosdalgo allí venidos, para morir en su servicio*. Y el Adelantado no dexó por eso de se vestir tan bien como solía, no mostrando sentimiento ninguno de la muerte del hijo, como quiera que en la voluntad lo tuviese como la razón quería (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 298, my italics).

The phrase 'como la razón quería' is similar to that used to describe Juan II's feelings on the death of his wife, 'el Rey ovo aquel sentimiento que de razón debía' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 625). I think this phrase is intended to mean that the grief was natural. The way that the Adelantado's story is recounted does not make me think that Pérez de Guzmán intended it as a criticism of him and therefore it seems that the phrase, used in that context, shows that he was exceptional in being able to show no sign of his grief, even though he felt it.

One of the characteristics which is mentioned regarding Santillana, and which makes him one of the 'claros varones' whom Fernando del Pulgar chose to write about, is the fact that he bore all his misfortunes, including the deaths of loved ones, with great fortitude, 'como quiera que pasaron por él infortunios en batallas ⁊ ovo algunos pesares por muertes de fijos ⁊ de algunos otros sus propincos, pero sufríalos con aquella fuerça de ánimo que a otros dotrinava que sufriesen' (1971: 25). In their bereavement, then,

caballeros were expected to overcome their natural grief and demonstrate the strength of their reason, their *fortaleza* and *mesura*, 'E maguer la medida en todas cosas menester sea, mayormente los varones en las cosas dolorosas la deven usar' (Villena 1976: 66).

An apparent exception to this rule would appear to be provided by the account of the Conde de Buelna, Pedro Niño's response to the death of his daughter, Costança:

el noble cavallero su padre, que en este mundo ovo muchos plazerres, e grand gloria en los sus buenos fechos, e sufrió los grandes denuedos, ývase ya usando a sofrir dolores e pesares, los quales son las graçias e dones que da el mundo a quien más en él fía. En la muerte desta donzella fizo él grand llanto, e tomó duelo, e amostró grand sentimiento, más que non fizo en la muerte de don Juan su fijo, segund adelante veredes.

Dize aquí el avtor que el conde hera hombre de grand seso, e muy fazañero, e que lo fizo por dar a entender que el cavallero deve ser piadoso contra lo flaco, e esforçado contra lo fuerte. E porque hera donzella, hera de honrar, e otrosí porque fue sienpre su costunbre de honrar las dueñas e donzellas de alto estado, e a las otras defenderlas, e fazerles algo de lo suyo (Díaz de Games 1994: 527).

The author's explanation, presumably included because he felt the Conde's behaviour might otherwise be misunderstood by the reader, suggests to me that far from disproving my hypothesis regarding what *defensores* would have considered the correct levels of grief to be shown, the Conde's seemingly anomalous action may in fact confirm it.

Firstly, the Conde's 'llanto', 'duelo' and 'sentimiento' are apparently motivated by a didactic and entirely rational urge, 'lo fizo por dar a entender que el cavallero deve ser piadoso contra lo flaco, e esforçado contra lo fuerte'. This aim seems to be related to the Conde's actions throughout his life. His chronicler described him as being, 'fuerte a los fuertes, e umilde a los flacos [...]. Tomava cargo en fablar por los pobres e defender los que se le encomendavan' (1994: 257-258) and when Pedro Niño's troops opposed setting fire to the houses of some poor people, it was because they knew their captain

was 'blando a lo flaco, e fuerte contra lo fuerte' (1994: 376). This attitude is shown to have a Christian basis when the author explains that, 'el hombre se puede salvar en guerra de cristianos, si quisiere [...] pero que á de guardar el hombre quatro cosas' (1994: 387). The last of these is related to the circumstance which had previously arisen, 'La quarta es non quemar panes nin casas, porque aquel daño e mal alcança a los ynocentes e a los párboles, que non fizieron porqué' (1994: 387-388). This explanation of the Conde's behaviour is therefore a Christian one, making him an exponent of what Green has described as the 'chivalry of the priests' (1963: 12). According to Green, 'What the concept of religious chivalry added specifically [to the 'chivalry of the knights'] was protecting the poor and weak, fighting always in a righteous cause' (1963: 12).

Secondly, the explanation that Pedro Niño showed grief, 'porque hera donzella, hera de honrar, e otrosí porque fue sienpre su costunbre de honrar las dueñas e donzellas de alto estado' perhaps relates his behaviour to the codes of courtly love or the 'chivalry of the ladies' (Green 1963: 12). Díaz de Games stated, 'fize dél este libro, que fabla de los sus fechos e grandes aventuras a que él se puso, ansí en armas como en amores' (1994: 208) and throughout the chronicle portrays Pedro Niño both as a Christian warrior and as a successful lover, albeit one whose amorous exploits end in marriage in two out of three cases while in the third a marriage was proposed and discussed with the lady's father, and thus none of the episodes demonstrates the extremes of courtly love which would have placed the lover in opposition to Christian morality.

Thirdly, the context in which the Conde's grief is related suggests that it might not have been expected by the reader and care is taken to demonstrate that he maintained the *defensor* characteristics of *fortaleza* and *mesura*. The description of

Pedro Niño's response is preceded by the statement that he 'ývase ya usando a sofrir dolores e pesares', and this phrase suggests that his display of grief was not due to a lack of *fortaleza*, since in other circumstances he had become accustomed to enduring pain and suffering, but rather to some other cause. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the author explicitly states that the Conde was not lacking in reason, 'hera hombre de grand seso', one of the qualities that might have been thought lacking in a father who gave way to grief. The fact that the Conde showed less emotion on the death of his son, to whose praises the author dedicates considerably more text than to Doña Costança's, is perhaps also somewhat surprising, since the relative praise of each child suggests that Don Juan was the greater loss. Unfortunately, no account of the latter's death is given and Rafael Beltrán Llavador suggests that 'Tal vez se haya perdido algún folio del manuscrito original [...] donde se mencionaría la causa de la muerte de Juan Niño' (Díaz de Games 1994: 533n). Since Díaz de Games tells us that the Conde showed less grief at the death of his son, it may be that the description of Juan Niño's death was succeeded by one of the Conde's restrained response, in line with what I have posited would be expected according to *defensor* ideology.

Given the fact that Díaz de Games portrays Pedro Niño's grief as neither an indication of weakness or a yielding to his emotions, but rather as a deliberate lesson in Christian morality and certain of the values of courtly love, this account appears to show the influence of *orador* ideology, but does so without negating the values prized by the *defensores*. The care the author takes to demonstrate the wisdom and self-control of the Conde, suggest that he did not wish his hero to be stigmatized as lacking in either the *fortaleza* or *mesura* which might have been expected of a *defensor* whose daughter had died.

In certain circumstances, however, social practice does appear to have demanded that grief be shown and in this case grief, not restraint, was expected of the *defensor*. The nature of the circumstances in which grief was shown, and the manner in which it was displayed, seem to have been affected by the status and gender of both deceased and bereaved. As Danièle Alexandre-Bidon has noted with regard to the wearing of mourning clothes, 'La durée du deuil varie notablement selon les milieux sociaux et même le sexe de l'endeuillé' (1998: 165). Medieval iconography also reflects a difference in the sexes' response to bereavement, 'In grieving, gender divisions are [...] notable; usually in medieval art the codification of grief is the special preserve of women' (Binski 1996: 51). Gender and status were, of course, interrelated to a certain degree. While certain women were of higher social status than others and 'La historia de la mujer varía según pertenezca a una u otra clase. [...] La mujer noble gozaba de riquezas, respeto y de poder' (Pastor 1986: 187), nonetheless even noble women:

con la excepción de algunas individualidades, se encuentran en una situación inferior a la mayoría de sus parientes masculinos. Pocas de ellas intervienen en la política de su tiempo, lo que se explica por la unión existente en todo el medievo entre guerreros, vasallos reales y cargos políticos y cortesanos (Beceiro Pita 1986: 289).

The differences between the sexes were not limited to their occupations, but, as we shall see, were thought to be inherent in their natures. Given the importance ascribed to gender differences, their implications for mourning will be examined separately from the effects of social status.

5.1. Grief and gender

Whereas male *defensores* were exhorted to show *mesura*, most women were thought to lack the ability to do anything except by extremes, 'todo lo hazen por extremo e por cabo' (Córdoba 1964b: 91), 'todas sus cosas son en exceso, sin medio,

que cuando son misericordiosas, son muy misericordiosas' (Torre 1950: 385). According to Aristotelian principles, women were considered essentially 'piadosas' because they had, 'los coraçones tiernos e blandos [...] por lo qual no pueden soportar ninguna dureza. Donde quando ven que alguno padece penas duras, luego se provocan a lágrimas e a misericordia e a compasión' (Córdoba 1964b: 87).¹⁶ Given the associations between manly virtue and self-control in the face of grief, and between womanly compassion and lack of control, it seems likely that there would have been an expectation that an individual's gender would affect their response to bereavement.

The idea that men should be less demonstrative of their grief than women is alluded to by Mirabella when she asks Grisel, 'encobrit el dolor de mi muerte porque causa de flaco corazón non vos sea' (Flores 1974: 360) because 'seyendo vos varón, y non moriendo, os deueýs sforçar' (1974: 361). Women, on the other hand, were expected to be physically, emotionally and intellectually weaker than men and therefore more likely to give way to their emotions.¹⁷ Valera, in his *Tratado en defenssa de virtuossas mugeres*, described women as, 'aquellas que la natura crió cuerpos flacos, coraçones tiernos, comúnmente ingenio perezoso' (1959c: 58), in contrast to men, to whom, 'por don natural fue otorgado cuerpos valientes, diligente ingenio, coraçones duros' (1959c: 58). Luis Fernández Puertocarrero, defending Alhama in 1482, contrasted the weakness of women who wail over the dead, 'los sentimientos que las vejezuelas flacas facen por los que mueren antes de tiempo' (Pulgar 1914: 374) with the attitude he expected from men and soldiers, 'entendemos morir defendiendo a Alhama, e no vivir captivos de los moros en el corral de Granada' (Pulgar 1914: 374). One

¹⁶ Fray Martín de Córdoba mentions Aristotle by name, 'según Aristóteles en su *Retórica*, las mugeres han algunas condiciones buenas [...] son tres: ca son las mugeres vergonçosas, son piadosas, son obsequiosas' (1964b: 85). Alfonso de la Torre would also appear to have been influenced by these Aristotelian ideas, since his exposition of the weaknesses of women (1950: 385), though much shorter, is fairly similar in content and structure to Córdoba's.

¹⁷ Haywood discusses women's 'moral frailty' (1996b: 53), their *flaqueza de corazón*, in the context of Briseyda's relationship with Troilus in the *Historia troyana polimétrica*.

chronicler's praise of Isabel 'la Católica' included the fact that, 'aunque muger, y por eso de carne flaca, era alumbrada de dones y de gracia espiritual' (*Continuation* 1914: 522). In contrast to Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán who let his son die rather than fail in his duty, a woman in the same situation, on being asked to give up the castle of Zamora in 1282 at first sent a defiant answer, saying, 'que gelo non daría, que lo tenía su marido por el rey don Alfonso' (*Crónica AX* 1919: 61) but when her eight-day old son was threatened, she sacrificed the castle and her duty, not the child, 'la dueña con grand amor que ovo del fijo, resceló que gelo mataría, e dióle el alcázar luego' (*Crónica AX* 1919: 61). Her emotion, her love for her child, overcame her inclination to do her duty. If we compare the two near-identical incidents, occurring only twelve years apart, we see that a man is able to resist his emotions while a woman is not.¹⁸

Despite the expectation of gender differences, it was recognised that some women could show restraint following bereavement, and they were praised for it. Following the death of the Duque de Viseo in 1484 the envoys of the Catholic Monarchs, Don Íñigo López Manrique, Bishop of León, and Mosén Gaspar Fabra travelled to Portugal to console his mother, the Infanta Doña Beatriz, who was also Isabel's aunt. There they found that despite, 'el dolor que sintió por la muerte del Duque su fijo' (Pulgar 1914: 406) she 'mostró tener aquella consolación que persona discreta debía mostrar en tiempo de tal turbación' (1914: 406). It has already been mentioned that Doña Beatriz 'era muger discreta' (1914: 406) and it seems that this aspect of her character enabled her to accept her loss with dignity. It might also be of relevance that it was her son's alleged ambitions to take the Portuguese crown which had led to his murder at the hands of the King, so excessive displays of grief and resentment might not have been politically advisable. Nonetheless, the fact that her *discreción* is specifically

¹⁸ The fact that the 'dueña' in question remains un-named, though the names of her husband and brother are given may also indicate something about the status of women in relation to their male relatives.

and approvingly mentioned suggests that she was seen as something of an exception. Garcilaso's mother was also praised for being *discreta*, and this characteristic was expected to help her to control her grief at her son's death, 'pues de discreta soys tanto famosa, / aquí vuestro seso conuiene mostrar' (Manrique 1991a: I, 110). Her *discreción* does indeed triumph over her natural, maternal instincts and she is able to reproach the other, weaker, women around her for showing excessive grief:

La discreta madre en quien debatía
la vmanidad con la discrición,
estaua turbada de gran turbación,
segun la crudeza del caso quería;
mas desde con seso la furia vençía
del entrañable dolor maternal,
a ellas poniendo delante su mal,
que no llanteasen rogando dezía (1991a: I, 113).

Although her words have the effect of calming the other women, this 'no duró mucho tiempo. La figura heroica de la madre se destaca así otra vez' (Deyermond 1987 [1990]: 111). She is thus portrayed as exceptional in comparison with other women, and even with men, given the grief-stricken behaviour of the messenger and Garcilaso's companions-in-arms. The mother of the negligent Alcayde Pedro de Basurto shows even less grief at the death of her son, and the chronicler, Valera, seems to give this detail in order to emphasise the depths to which Basurto had sunk. Valera, having thoroughly criticised Basurto for failing in his duty to protect the castle of Medina because 'dábase tanto a mugeres, que pocas veces durmía en la fortaleza, e a fin de no gastar no tenía gente, e todo su gasto era en caballo y en jaeces' (1914: 76), explains that when his mother learned of his death and was told to collect his body, she did not behave as one would expect a mother to, 'Respondió la madre que al que lo mató que lo pusiese en cobro, sin tomar voz ninguna ni hacer ningún sentimiento' (1914: 77). The implication of her action is that she did not deem her son worthy of such a mark of respect.

The examples of the mothers of Garcilaso and Pedro Basurto suggest that the relative social statuses of the bereaved and the dead may have affected the levels of grief shown and could militate against the influence of the gender of the bereaved. Garcilaso's mother is shown to be outstanding and it is through her and her ancestors that her son acquired the fortitude which makes his loss so deeply, and tearfully, felt by his (male) companions. Pedro Basurto's neglect of his duty had lost him his mother's respect.

5.2. Grief and social status

While gender and social status appear to have affected the levels of mourning shown for the deceased, in theory, from a theological point of view, every soul was equally valuable. Andrés Bernáldez, 'cura que fue de la villa de los Palacios', in his chronicle of Isabel and Fernando wrote:

una muerte de un hombre no se puede satisfacer con muchos dineros; y un ánima que no puede ser comprada por oro ni plata, si va a el infierno no se puede rescatar, aunque den por ella todos los tesoros del mundo (1914: 591).

In practice, however, not every death was seen as being of equal importance. The attitude towards death on the part of the bereaved reflected the social status of the dead person. Despite Garcilaso's mother's restraint, the grief felt and shown by others is described in great detail in order to demonstrate the dead warrior's worth. His death is a blow to the Christian army and, conversely, a source of great joy to their enemies, 'en nuestras vi gentes sospiros e lloros, / e vi los contrarios fazer al reués' (Manrique 1991a: I, 103). The narrator's attempt to discover, 'quien era aquel buen varón / por quien se fazia tal lamentación' (1991a: I, 105) suggests that even before he knows Garcilaso's identity, he is able to deduce, from the extent of the grief, 'tal lamentación', that the

deceased was a 'buen varón', a hero. The primary rationale for the grief caused by his death was his standing as a warrior, but others deserved such marks of respect because of their high rank. A king, for example 'el muy noble rey don Alonso de Portugal' (Bernáldez 1914: 604) who died in 1481, had to be mourned 'con las honras y obsequias según a su real estado convenía' (Bernáldez 1914: 604). As the king was at the top of the secular, social hierarchy, all his subjects were inferior to him and their grief was a sign of their respect for him, as a superior. When their livelihoods had depended directly on him, their grief might also be due to more pragmatic considerations. On the death of Juan II his servants were apparently inconsolable, 'quedaron muy afligidos, en tanto grado que hacían muy dolorosos llantos, sin que ninguno los pudiese consolar' (Enríquez del Castillo 1914: 102) but their wailing soon stopped when the new king, Enrique IV, declared 'es mi determinada voluntad, que todos quedéis en vuestros oficios, según los teníades con el Rey mi señor' (1914: 102). The servants departed 'dando gracias a Dios, porque en pos de tan noble padre les sucedía tan excelente hijo' (1914: 102), which suggests that their distress was in great part due to their fear they might lose their employment.

The relative status of deceased and bereaved seems to have affected Alfonso X's original thoughts concerning mourning practice since he 'decretaba en las Cortes de Valladolid (1258) "que nengún caballero que non plaña nin se rasgue *si non fuere por su señor*"' (Filgueira Valverde 1945: 515-516, my italics). Though the *Partidas* were to condemn on religious grounds, 'los duelos que facen los homes en que se mesan los cabellos, o se rompen las caras et las desafiguran, o se fieren de guisa que vengan a lisión o a muerte' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: I, 169; PI, TIV Ley C), the law made at the Cortes de Valladolid suggests that a concern to honour the dead, particularly those of high rank, could lead to a relaxation in regulations. The bereaved's actions indicative of

grief such as crying, scratching of the face and tearing of the hair would have reflected the superior status of the deceased. Regarding the Catholic Monarchs' 1502 laws on mourning practice, Eire observes that their limitations on display at funerals had as much a social as a theological motivation:

In case of a royal death, all citizens were allowed to wear mourning garb. Whereas no one was to be permitted to dress this way for any death beyond one's immediate family, a special exception was made for royal personages. [...] In this way, the monarchs tried to assume a privileged position, reserving for themselves a place in every Spanish family. These very special grieving gestures dramatically signified the power of the monarchy over every single subject. The entire nation was to mourn for a royal person as for a mother, father, husband, brother, or sister (or as for a master, in the case of servants) (1995: 155).¹⁹

These laws modified those made at the Cortes held in Soria in 1380 in which very specific sumptuary laws concerning mourning were drawn up (Royer de Cardinal [1992 (?): 270]. The laws made in Soria continued in place throughout the fifteenth century, appearing in Alfonso Díaz de Montalvo's *Ordenanzas reales*, which were given force of law in 1485:

ordenamos & mandamos que [...] puedan vestir por luto paño prieto por que es muestra & señal de amorío que avían con sus parientes finados. E que lo traigan tres meses si el finado era pariente fasta el quarto grado. E por otro pariente que sea allende deste grado non puedan traer luto de paño prieto. E la muger traya luto por su marido tanto tienpo quanto quisiere. Mas si finare rrey o rreyna o jnfante heredero traygan luto de margas treynta días. E por otros señores quales quier quinze días (1999: 8r; Libro I, Título I, Ley VII).

Although to a lesser extent than in Alfonso X's 1258 decree, exceptions to the rules existed where the deceased was of sufficiently high status, in particular a member of the royal family, but also for 'otros señores quales quier'. Such differentiation between the mourning permitted on the death of ordinary individuals outwith the bereaved's close family, and that sanctioned if the deceased was royalty or an important *defensor*, seem to have been based on considerations of honour and status, not Christianity. Similarly,

¹⁹ Economic considerations may also have been a factor in the monarchs' minds. Royer de Cardinal suggests that via this law 'los Reyes Católicos desean moderar la "vanagloria" de sus naturales y frenar los gastos desmedidos ocasionados por el enterramiento' ([1992 (?): 273].

although the law states that the donning of mourning clothes was, at least in part, a response motivated by real grief, a 'muestra & señal de amorío', the strict limitations on the time for which mourning could be worn, and the prohibition against wearing *margas* except for those of the highest social status, demonstrate that clothing could be used to indicate the relative social statuses of the mourner and the deceased. *Marga*, also known as *jerga*, is a cloth 'que se emplea para sacas, jergones y cosas semejantes, y antiguamente se llevó como luto muy riguroso' (*Diccionario de la lengua española* 1992: 1324). 'Probablemente imitando el saco de los penitentes' (Martínez Gil 1996: 110), the wearing of *jerga*, a coarse frieze, would probably have indicated even more clearly than *pañó* or other types of cloth that the mourner was abasing themselves to honour the dead person.²⁰ It was worn at the funeral of the Marqués-Duque de Cádiz, and Bernáldez seems to be desirous of increasing the deceased's honour and status when he relates the high numbers of mourners who wore mourning clothes and, when they are significant and noble men, their names:

todos sus parientes, e hermanos, e criados, e escuderos de casa se cubrieron de jerga, y eran tantos, que no cabían en toda la casa; e alcanzó mucha honra en su fin, que estuvieron a su fallecimiento e enterramiento y se cubrieron por él de luto el señor don Alonso de Aguilar, que era mucho su amigo, y don Pedro Puertocarrero, hermano de la señora duquesa, señor de Moguer; e el señor don Luis Puertocarrero, señor de Palma; y otros muchos honrados señores; Fernán Darias, señor del Viso, e Pedro de Vera, e don Luis Méndez Puertocarrero, e Francisco Cataño, e otros; todos éstos se cubrieron de luto (1914: 645).

Apparently they would all have worn *jerga* but for the fact that the death of the Duque de Medinasidonia earlier in the year had exhausted supplies of the material, 'faltó la jerga con el fallecimiento del duque de Medina' (Bernáldez 1914: 645).²¹ The use of the phrase 'alcanzó mucha honra en su fin' in the context not of the deathbed, but of the

²⁰ The use of cloths of differing qualities to indicate status was not limited to the period of mourning. According to the *Siete Partidas* rich clothes were indicators of social status and honour, 'Vestiduras facen mucho conocer a los homes por nobles o por viles, et por ende los sabios antigos establecieron que los reyes vestiesen paños de seda con oro et con piedras preciosas' (Alfonso el Sabio 1972: II, 28–29; PII, TV, Ley V).

²¹ According to Barrantes Maldonado, Rodrigo Ponce de León died only two days after the former had been buried (1857: x, 389).

mourners, marks the fact that for the chronicler large numbers of mourners and their assumption of mourning clothes were indicators of the high social status and honour of the deceased. According to Martínez Gil this was a widespread attitude, 'la honra de un difunto se cifraba en buena parte en el número y calidad de los que asistían a su entierro y se vestían de luto por él' (1996: 111). The naming of those present is significant because they are 'honrados señores': each one would have been known by readers of the chronicle as an eminent noble and each, in wearing mourning, demonstrated how highly esteemed and therefore how worthy of honour the Marqués-Duque was.

Given all the social conventions and legal regulations governing mourning, it seems reasonable to suppose that the signs of grief shown by the bereaved were often governed by these rules rather than by instinctive emotional responses. Villena certainly believed that grief was often shown, but not truly felt and that the bereaved showed signs of grief primarily in order to assuage public opinion, 'más se muestra doler que non se duelen' (1976: 111), because they feared 'ge lo ternán a mal las gentes entre quien bive sy non muestra por ello grant sentimiento' (1976: 111). In itself, this might imply only that family members feared being condemned for heartlessness but other evidence suggests that an important factor determining whether signs of grief would be shown, independent of whether or not it was truly felt, was a wish to honour the deceased or their close relatives. This would certainly appear to be Pero Díaz de Toledo's opinion concerning the funerals of contemporary nobles. He begins by describing the funeral of the Patriarch Jacob at which the Egyptians had displayed grief in order to honour his son, Joseph:

fueron con Josep muchos de los de la casa del rey Faraón, e [...] lloraron al patriarca Jacob con lloro grande e fuerte, e los Egipcianos *non tenían por qué se doler* de la muerte del Patriarca, mas *por honrrar* a Josep, ficiéron aquella cirimonia de lloro e de obsequias (1892: 290, my italics).

Díaz de Toledo then imagines this scene, which took place so many centuries before, as though it differed hardly at all from what one might expect to see at the funeral of a contemporary Spanish noble:

llorauan e fazían plantos que sonasen a la forma que se acostumbra fazer en la nuestra Espania quando algund gran señor muere, e a sus exequias quiebran escudos; otros tañen bozinas, e *provócanse unos a otros a llorar*, e dar gritos e voces, de los quales *son pocos que se duelen de coraçon de la muerte del defunto* (1892: 291, my italics).

We may conclude that at very least there was a perception among some members of fifteenth-century Castilian society that there were similarities between ancient funeral practices and their own, including mourners giving honour to the deceased and their family by showing feigned grief.

Which fifteenth-century displays of grief were the result of real pain at the loss of the dead person is debatable. The fact that certain levels of grief were described as appropriate, for example in 1304 on the death of Don Enrique, brother of Alfonso X, when 'la Reina e la infanta doña Isabel su fija, e el infante don Pedro ficieron su llanto así commo lo avían de facer' (*Crónica FIV* 1919: 132), reinforces the supposition that there were conventions governing the level of display shown. Another example of this can be found in the description of Queen Isabel's mourning for her brother, Enrique IV, 'la princesa doña Isabel se cubrió de luto e fizo los llantos que convenían hacer por el Rey su hermano' (Bernáldez 1914: 576). The phrase 'que convenían hacer' indicates that 'llantos' were an expected part of the ritual surrounding a burial and MacKay confirms that, 'The death of the king was accompanied by ritual cryings, usually described as *llantos*' (1985: 18). This is not to say that real grief was not a factor in provoking *llantos* and other signs of mourning, but it seems that it was not the only determinant of people's reactions to a death. Deep suffering caused by bereavement undoubtedly existed, but it might manifest itself in a less public fashion than the

'llantos' described above. On the death of her children Queen Isabel is not recorded as having made a public spectacle of herself, but her very real grief at the death of her only son, Juan, who died in 1497 and her eldest daughter, Queen Isabel of Portugal, who died in 1498, was thought, at least by one chronicler, to have contributed to her own death:

Murió la reyna doña Isabel, de gloriosa memoria, en el mes de noviembre, año de 1504, en Medina del Campo, de dolencia e muerte natural, que se creyó recrecerle de los enojos e cuchillos de dolor de las muertes del príncipe don Juan e de la reyna de Portugal, princesa de Castilla, sus fijos, que traspasaron su ánima y su corazón (Bernáldez 1914: 722).

While it would have been appropriate for the young Isabel to mourn publicly for her older brother, who was also the King, once she became monarch herself, it was less appropriate for her, as Queen, to show grief for the death of her children, though as a mother she no doubt felt their loss keenly. When Alfonso X received a false report of the death of his son, Sancho, his social status as King and father (and Sancho's previous rebellious stance), combined to make it inappropriate for him to mourn for his son publicly. Therefore, though deeply grieved to learn of Sancho's death, he nonetheless sought to conceal his emotion:

tomó muy grand pesar; e commo quier que lo non mostrase ante los que estaban ay, apartóse en una cámara solo, asi que ome ninguno non osaba entrar a él, e comenzó a llorar por él muy fuertemente, e tan grande fue el pesar que ende avía, que decía por él muy doloridas palabras, diciendo muchas veces que era muerto el mejor ome que avía en su linaje. E quando los de su casa vieron que así estava apartado, entendieron que mostraba grand pesar por la muerte de su fijo, e atrevióse uno de los sus privados, que decían maestre Nicolás, e entró a la cámara a él, e díjole estas palabras. 'Señor, ¿por qué mostrades tan grand pesar por el infante don Sancho, vuestro fijo, que vos tenía desheredado? Ca si vos lo saben el infante don Juan e estos otros ricos omes que son aquí convusco, perderlos hedes todos, e tomarán alguna carrera contra vos.' (*Crónica AX* 1919: 65).

It seems fairly clear that Alfonso knew his emotion would be deemed inappropriate and, as Maestre Nicolás warned him, his grief would in fact turn his allies against him. Given that his son had been in open rebellion against him, Alfonso would not have been expected to think of him as the 'mejor ome que avía en su linaje' and presumably his

allies, had they suspected he thought it, would have considered him weak and therefore not worth following. Similarly, when he heard that his son had recovered, he was pleased, but knew that he must not show this emotion either, 'plúgole ende, commo quier lo non osó dar a entender' (*Crónica AX* 1919: 66).

It was, however, possible for those of even the highest status to show too little grief. Enrique IV's reaction to the impending death of Garcilaso de la Vega, as related by Diego de Valera, is a case in point. According to Deyermond, the chroniclers 'Valera y Palencia representan a un rey Enrique divirtiéndose de la agonía del héroe (se puede suponer que dicha escena forma parte de la propaganda antienriqueña de la historiografía oficial de los Reyes Católicos)' (1987 [1990]: 94). Valera described Garcilaso, who had been fatally wounded by a poisoned arrow, as 'el valiente y noble caballero' (1914: 18), but Enrique ignored his manifest worth and treated him as a case-study in the effects of poison. The King, 'no con triste corazón dixo: "Vamos a ver la fuerza que tiene la ponzoña" ' (1914: 18) and proceeded, 'sin turbación alguna a ver al desdichado caballero que con la yerba hacía grandes rabias' (1914: 18). Though certain signs of grief would have been thought excessive and inappropriate on the part of the King, his complete and callous disregard for the impending death of a noble and loyal *caballero* who lay writhing in his death agony compounds Valera's negative portrayal of the King.

It would seem that the more grief the bereaved showed, the more they exalted the memory or *fama* of the dead person. Though a superior could show signs of grief for an inferior, these would tend to be more limited in nature than those an individual of lower status would be expected to show for a social superior. When Juan II's daughter and heir, Doña Catalina, died in 1424, 'el Rey se vistió de paño negro tres días' (Pérez

de Guzmán 1914a: 428). Significantly, others at court wore mourning for far longer, 'todos los de la Corte; e los principales de todas las cibdades e villas del reyno traxeron nueve días marga, e dende adelante luto por tres meses' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 428), which would seem to indicate that though the King could mourn his heir, those of lower rank than her were expected to do so in greater measure. The length of mourning and the type of cloth worn seem to correlate more closely to status than to emotional or genetic ties with the dead child. When the King's mother-in-law died in 1435, she rated a longer period of mourning on the part of the King, 'traxo el Rey luto por ella quarenta días' (Pérez de Guzmán 1914a: 527), perhaps because she was Queen of Aragón and an adult and so of higher status than Doña Catalina. Monarchs could also show restrained grief for distinguished or deserving subjects such as the young Conde de Belalcázar who was killed in a skirmish and was 'tan bien acondicionado, que pesó mucho al Rey e a la Reyna de su muerte' (Pulgar 1914: 403) or the Marqués-Duque de Cádiz, 'ovieron mucho sentimiento; e pusieron luto negro por él' (Bernáldez 1914: 646). In contrast with their *luto*, his relatives, presumably of lower rank than he, and his dependants, including servants and those who lived in his domains, showed less restrained grief:

los Ponces sus hermanos y parientes, y la duquesa su mujer y otras muchas dueñas hicieron sobre él grandes lloros e sentimiento; eso mesmo hicieron sus escuderos e criados, e doncellas, e gente de su casa, e otros e otras muchas de su tierra e también de la ciudad (Bernáldez 1914: 645).

As we have already seen, men were praised for not giving way to grief following the deaths of their children. Nonetheless, there were certain contexts where it was deemed appropriate for men to weep, most notably on the death of a superior, as in the case of the Marqués-Duque de Cádiz's 'escuderos e criados'.

Even when both men and women cried for someone of a higher status, the gender difference seems to have continued to affect their behaviour. In the chronicle

description of the funeral procession of the Marqués-Duque de Cádiz the women of the town of Sanlúcar, unlike their menfolk, are particularly mentioned for marking his death with their wails and tears as they turned out to assist the mourners in the cortege:

les ayudaban las dueñas, que salían a mirar desde sus puertas e ventanas a lo llorar, e daban tan grandes gritos las mujeres de la ciudad por donde lo llevaban, como si fuese su padre, o fijo, o hermano de todas (Bernáldez 1914: 645).

A similar gender difference is discernible in the response to the death of Sancho IV in 1295. The men, 'ficieron muy grand llanto por él' (*Crónica SVI* 1919: 90) but the women's tears were of immensely greater magnitude, 'la reina doña María, su mujer, con las dueñas fizo tan grand llanto, que vos non podría ome contar cuán grande era' (*Crónica SVI* 1919: 90). It would therefore appear that gender and status acted in conjunction to condition the levels of grief shown by the bereaved.

6. Conclusion

Law codes, chronicles and the injunctions of ecclesiastical councils all reveal that the *oradores* struggled unsuccessfully to eradicate those grieving practices which they considered excessive and lacking in Christian faith in the resurrection of the dead. The Christian attitude of acceptance and hope (expressed in the assistance rendered to the souls of the dead) clearly co-existed in the fifteenth century with displays of frenzied grief. Gómez Manrique's *Defunzió*n juxtaposes the two attitudes. As we have seen, the grief demonstrated by Garcilaso's sister and the majority of the other women includes a number of the possible manifestations of grief and point to a distinctly secular, un-Christian attitude on their part, particularly in their 'Diziendo palabras a Dios desplazientes'. This is countered by Christian attitudes, articulated by Garcilaso's mother, who states:

[...] pues Dios así lo mandó,
responderé lo que respondió
el santo varón quando fue tentado,
veyendo ser pobre de rico tornado:
Dominus dedit, y él lo tiró (Manrique 1991a: I, 114).

She, like Job, accepts God's will. Nonetheless, the poem concludes with a description of Garcilaso's burial which takes place accompanied by more tears, '*como mereçia su mereçimiento, / no poco llorado de sus dos ermanas*' (1991a: I, 115, my italics), a recurrence of at least one of the manifestations of grief she had earlier condemned. With these tears, shed in recognition of Garcilaso's *mereçimiento*, the *defensor* attitude that grief was a way of showing respect for the deceased seems to triumph.

On occasion, however, the attitudes of *oradores* and *defensores* could work in tandem to reinforce each other. Paradoxically, the theologically condemned forms of grief could be used in the context of the death of Christ himself. Constanza de Castilla,

the prioress of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid, elaborates the biblical story in order to depict in greater detail the scenes of grief which occurred at the foot of the cross:

posumus credere que sant Juan, tu amado diçípulo, que presente fue a todos los tormentos que reçebiste, sufrió tan grant pesar que perdería todos sus sentidos, mesaría sus cabellos, daría fuertes golpes en su rostro e pechos con espesos gemidos, abondosas lágrimas [...]. La Madalena con sobrepujante amor, dos hermanas de la Gloriosa con debdo natural, Marta obligada de benefiçios, todos con grandísimo amor e dolor mesarían sus cabellos; rasgarían sus caras, braços, manos e pechos; con agudos gritos lloraron amargosamente la cruel e desonrrada muerte que padescías (1998: 21-22).

Constanza's depiction was far from unusual. In San Pedro's *Siete Angustias de Nuestra Señora*, contained in his *Arnalte y Lucenda* and also published separately (Whinnom 1974: 59), St John and Mary Magdalene also pull out their hair, 'Sacando con rabia esquiba / sus cabellos a manojos' (1973: 154). The poet addresses the Virgin herself as she expresses her grief in the same manner, 'de tus cabellos asíás' (1973: 155), and he hears her 'bozear' and express a wish to join her son in death (1973: 161). In Berceo's *El duelo que fizo la Virgen María el día de la pasión de su fijo Jesuchristo*, Mary describes the aftermath of her son's death, 'Todas faciémos planto e duelo sin mesura' (1975: 40). That such descriptions of the mourning and grief of Jesus's followers, and even his mother, included so many of the elements of grief-stricken behaviour which had been condemned by the Church, suggests that such customs must have been very deeply ingrained in the culture of the time. Clearly it seemed appropriate to Constanza, San Pedro and his readers, that the King of Heaven should be mourned in the same way as an earthly monarch.

From a strictly theological perspective however, death released the soul so that it could enjoy eternal life and therefore, if the deceased was likely to be granted a place in Heaven or Purgatory, there was no need for grief. This attitude conflicted with traditional modes of reacting to bereavement, such as the making of *llantos*.

Nonetheless, as we have seen, there could be contexts in which, even from a purely *defensor* perspective, it was considered admirable for the bereaved to show emotional restraint. In the case of a *caballero* whose daughter had died, it would have been considered weak and unmanly for him to display a large degree of grief and this restraint would have combined well with the attitude encouraged by the Church. This is precisely the situation in which Gómez Manrique found himself after the death of his daughter, Catalina in 1481.²² The Protonotario de Lucena accused Manrique of reacting in an unsuitable fashion, ‘vos mostrays fembra, regando la cara con lágrimas, con las vnyas rasgando las hazes, [...] a Dios retratando sus rectos juyzios’ (Manrique 1991b).²³ Gómez Manrique felt impelled to refute these claims for, ‘si callase quedaría infamado de destemplado y de flaco y de imprudente cauallero y havn no de cathólico crestiano’ (1991b). This reply reveals that Manrique felt very clearly that his behaviour was being criticised both from a *defensor* and a Christian perspective and his status both as a ‘cauallero’ and as a ‘cathólico crestiano’ was being called into question. Addressing the affront to his honour as a *defensor*, Manrique stated that:

siendo cauallero y no venido de flacos antecesores, mostrar tan mugeriles flaquezas, [...] y dexar con voces y llantos de entender en la gobernación desta grand ciudad y tierra que encargo tengo, lo qual no obiera por menos mengua que apartarme de hun conbate con sentimyento de ver muerto algún pariente; lo cual yo fui a hazer y hize por el contrario; que a los caulleros en los casos que va su ley y seruicio de su Rey y su honra no les ha de empachar tristeza ni empachar otro ningún enpacho (1991b).

He thus reminds the Protonotario of his familial honour which, as we have seen, would reflect positively on him and lead one to expect him to be a worthy scion of such a noble family. He also compares his obligations as *corregidor* of Toledo to the *caballero*’s obligation to fight for his King. This, as we have seen earlier, was a factor

²² This is the date given by Sieber (1993: 155) and Deyermond (1998: 74-75), though Manuel Carrión Gútiérrez prefers 1480 (Manrique 1991b).

²³ We may recall that weeping, tearing one’s flesh and saying ‘palabras a Dios desplazientes’ were signs of grief displayed by the ‘dueñas e donzellas’ and condemned by Garcilaso’s mother in Gómez

in motivating a knight to die bravely in battle, and the same obligation is now shown to compel him to dismiss his grief should it impede him in his duty. In his defence Manrique thus calls on two concepts at the core of the *defensores*' ideology: the duty, included in the knight's oath, to fight for his King and the familial honour which every *defensor* was expected to perpetuate. After defending his honour, Manrique concludes by affirming his orthodoxy as a Christian:

así que por cierto nunca tuuo más fuerça mi tristeza que a mi honra hiziese hazer cosa de mengua; ni mi dolor ni mi fe, para que me hiziesen dudar que las obras de Dios son justas y a de aber resurrección y juicio y gloria y pena (1991b).

This faith in the life of the world to come is precisely that which theologians stated as the basis for the Christian's rejection of pagan grief at the death of loved ones. Manrique's response demonstrates that though at times the ideologies of *oradores* and *defensores* could conflict, at others their differing rationale and priorities could converge to minimise displays of grief.

Manrique's *Defunzi6n*. The accusation that G6mez Manrique was acting like a 'fembra' reinforces my theory that it was more expected for women than for men to react to bereavement in this extreme fashion.

V. CONCLUSION

EL TIEMPO, SEGÚN ME PARECE, SE NOS VA, COMO DIZEN, DENTRE LAS MANOS [...] TODOS LOS COME YA LA TIERRA; TODOS YAZEN EN SUS PERPETUAS MORADAS (ROJAS 1998: 301).

1. Introduction

In my investigation of *orador* and *defensor* attitudes to death, from those of the dying to those of the bereaved, I have described two coherent and distinct ideologies which I believe co-existed and came into conflict in fifteenth-century Castile. Though I have drawn my evidence from written sources, the division between the *orador* and *defensor* ideologies can also be detected in visual depictions of death. Although the most striking images of death created in the fifteenth century were probably those of dancing skeletons and hideous beckoning corpses, this macabre iconography was not the only artistic response to death. As suggested by Martínez de Toledo's reprimand to 'las gentes' who believed that the macabre representations of a personified Death were accurate portrayals of reality, even if many individuals thought of death primarily in this guise, this was probably not the case for the intellectual elite of the *oradores*:

piensan las gentes que la muerte es persona invisible que anda matando ombres e mugeres; pues non lo piensen, que non es otra cosa muerte sinón separación del ánima al cuerpo. E esto es llamado muerte o privación desta presente vida, quedando cadáver el cuerpo que primero era ornado de ánima. Esta es dicha muerte. Así que non diga ninguno: 'Yo vi la muerte en figura de muger, en figura de cuerpo de ome, e que fablava con los reyes, etc., como pintada está en León', que aquello es ficción natural contra natura. Es natural porque natural es el morir; pero non que la muerte sea cosa que mate, segund que la pintan en ficción, que sería contra natura, como dar cuchilladas, lançadas o saetadas a los bivos la muerte (1979: 271-272).

His definition of death as the separation of body and soul finds its artistic expression in the *Ars moriendi* which, rather than showing a personified Death, emphasise the struggle between angels and devils for the soul of *Moriens*. The illustrations accompanying the *Ars moriendi* indicate the moment of death by a small human figure,

which we can assume is the soul, emerging from *Moriens*'s head and ascending towards the angels hovering above the bed. The soul might also be represented by a bird, 'The dove's simplest significance, as seen on early Christian tombs or in illustrations where the bird emerges from the mouths of the dying, was as the soul of the faithful' (Rowland 1978: 44). Such portrayals of death, unlike those of the dances of Death, represent the soul, the pastoral care of which both before and after death was a responsibility of the *oradores*, who prayed for, exhorted, confessed and absolved the living and prayed and said masses for the souls of the dead. Nor is a personified Death the image most representative of *defensor* attitudes, as the case of Manrique's *Coplas* perhaps demonstrates. Here we have a personified Death, but it is an unusual one, adapted to fit the *defensor* ideology:

al hacer que la muerte hable de sí misma en lenguaje caballeresco, Jorge Manrique logra que la muerte, dejando de ser una figura del espanto y de la incomprensión, se convierta en un ser adecuado a su padre, un caballero igual a don Rodrigo (Gilman 1959: 310).

The chronicles, though they did not wholly neglect the spiritual aspects of death and dying, tended to dwell on matters of importance to the *defensores* and a large number of the deaths they mention occur as a result of warfare. An example of contemporary deaths of this type, and the extent to which they were seen as honourable, is recorded by Pulgar. In a battle which took place in 1479 near Mérida between the Portuguese and Castilian forces, the latter were reminded by their leader that, 'la honra de que el fidalgo goza toda su vida, en un día tal como éste la gana, haciendo lo que debe, o la pierde si no la face' (1914: 343) and the subsequent engagement was fierce:

caían muchos muertos de la una parte e de la otra; e ni los muertos caídos en el campo, ni las llagas e sangre que de sus cuerpos veían derramar desmayaba a los unos ni a los otros para se dexar vencer; antes parecía que quanto más sangre veían vertida, tanto más se encrudelecían los unos contra los otros; e olvidado el miedo de la muerte, cada uno acometía a los enemigos, e se metía en los lugares más peligrosos, teniendo en poco la vida por alcanzar la victoria (Pulgar 1914: 343).

This description of death in battle, with its vivid evocation of the determination shown, and physical suffering the *defensores* were prepared to endure, in order to gain honour and glory, encapsulates the values of *fortaleza*, *honor* and *fama* so fundamental to the *defensor* ideology. As T. S. R. Boase has observed, such written descriptions found parallels in the visual arts, 'The brutality of warfare lives in many illuminations, whether they purport to represent the Battle of Gilboa or the death of Hector' (1972: 15). Although the Old Testament might be considered a holy book and thus the preserve of the *oradores*, it was read by *defensores*, and they did not always do so for pious reasons, 'cette lecture n'est pas nécessairement, ni exclusivement, religieuse; le caractère guerrier de ce texte le fait apprécier des nobles, qui associent l'idéal de chevalerie aux récits de batailles bibliques' (Alexandre-Bidon 1998: 16-17).

2. *Oradores*

Given the *oradores'* understanding of death as the gateway to the afterlife, where the individual would partake of an eternity of either joy or torment, life could be seen as a brief pilgrimage, through a vale of tears and temptations, which would only be completed after death. The soul would then be assigned to Heaven, Purgatory or Hell. Excessive displays of grief on the part of the bereaved would therefore be both useless and, in the case of the deceased whose souls were now resident in Heaven or Purgatory, sinful, because ignoring the great spiritual victory the deceased had won in eluding the clutches of the Devil. The supreme importance of the deathbed was that in the moments before death the choice between good and evil, open to the individual throughout life, was about to become irrevocable. From the perspective of a group dedicated to being good shepherds, their duty was to encourage their flock to live and die in a manner which would safeguard their souls. The attitudes the *Ars moriendi* recommended for the dying, such as faith, hope, charity, humility and a focus on the saving work of Christ, were identical to those preached to the living. At death, however, it became increasingly important for the believer to make them manifest, since it was only through visible and audible signs that the Church could perceive the individual's state of mind. Only after giving verbal or visual indicators of contrition, in particular the making of a confession, could the dying receive absolution, the *viaticum* and extreme unction, the final sacraments which would cleanse their souls and, hopefully, prepare them for entry to either Heaven or Purgatory. All the elements of the *oradores'* good death, including the making of a last will and testament, the acceptance of God's will (in particular in the form of the death-pains) and the making of pious speeches, involved, either explicitly or implicitly, a renunciation of worldly goods, pleasures and attitudes. Bad deaths, on the other hand, either resulted directly from sinful behaviour or deprived the individual of

the opportunity to prepare and be prepared for death. This latter circumstance was clearly less damaging to individuals who had spent their entire lives preparing their souls for death, and theologians therefore acknowledged that deaths which appeared bad, and which would in general have been judged to have a deleterious effect on the soul's prospect, did not necessarily mean that an individual was doomed to suffer eternal torments.

The requirement for the dying to make visible signs of contrition was due to the fact that the *oradores*, unlike God, could not know an individual's thoughts by any other method. They acknowledged this limitation and, in their desire to assist the souls in Purgatory, preferred to err by offering unavailing prayers and masses for a damned individual than deprive a necessitous soul of assistance. Although the dying could make financial provision to benefit their soul in the afterlife, they depended largely on the *oradores* to translate these worldly goods into spiritual credit through the sacrifice of the Mass.

3. *Defensores*

As with the *oradores*, the attitude of the *defensores* towards death cannot be understood in isolation from the attitudes which governed their approach towards life. The *defensores*' role in society, according to the theory of the three estates, was to be a fighting force. Essential to this task were bravery and the ability to accept suffering and even death in the fulfilment of duty. As in the *orador* model, acceptance of death was encouraged by thoughts of benefits which could be obtained only after death. In the case of the *defensor* ideology however, this was the *fama* that could be gained by a life honourably lived and a death bravely faced. Also as in the *oradores*' ideology, it was thought that the living and the dead could affect each other, but for the *defensores* it was honour and nobility rather than spiritual benefits which were transmitted between these groups. Whereas saints could intervene for the living, a prestigious ancestor brought honour and renown to his descendants. The route by which benefits were transmitted between individuals in the *defensores*' model was thus blood rather than prayer. While a male could reduce his own standing and that of both his ancestors and descendants through cowardice or disloyalty, a woman's promiscuity could place in doubt the very lineage of her offspring. Male *defensores* could not, however, threaten the status of their legitimate children in the same manner and perhaps for this reason female virginity and chastity were particularly prized among *defensores*. *Fama* was preserved by the living, who honoured the newly-dead in funeral customs and kept their memory alive.

Whereas the teachings of the *oradores* were, at least theoretically, accepted by all baptised Christians and heresy was punishable by excommunication and even death, the concepts upheld by the *defensores* had no such protection. Their insatiable desire for honour and status could be, and on occasion was, condemned as vainglory and pride.

Nonetheless their function as defenders of the realm was officially recognised, as was the fact that their lives must, of necessity, differ from those of the *oradores* and fortitude, recognised as one of the seven virtues, was deemed particularly theirs, since they were expected to show courage, perseverance and undergo physical and mental hardship in the performance of their duties.

4. Conflict and co-existence

Centred on honour and warfare, the ideology of the *defensores* appears fundamentally opposed to the tenets of Christianity, yet, as we have seen, certain elements of the two were compatible, as when both praised virginity in women, though the underlying values which led them to prize this quality differed. Furthermore, because that society was perceived as a Christian one, the *defensores* considered themselves Christians, and had grounds for doing so: they fought against the infidel, took the sacraments and were buried in consecrated ground. Perhaps because of this the tensions between the ideologies of *oradores* and *defensores* were not always recognised. When they were, as in the case of certain of the criticisms of the concept of *fama* or of certain mourning practices, that recognition attacked only isolated elements of the *defensores'* ideology, rather than the whole. Most notably perhaps in the creation of the Military Orders, the Church attempted to Christianise the lifestyle of the *defensores*, but did not seek to eradicate it in its entirety. Thus the elements of the *defensor* ideology persisted and could co-exist not only in society, but also within individuals. Huizinga observed that,

Among the princes and the lords of the fifteenth century, more than one presents the type of an almost inconceivable mixture of devotion and debauchery. [...] The coexistence in one person of devotion and worldliness is displayed in a striking fashion in Philip the Good. [...] Gaston Phébus, count of Foix, King René, Charles of Orleans, represent so many different types of a very worldly and often frivolous temperament, coupled with a devotional spirit which one shrinks from stigmatizing as hypocrisy or bigotry. It has rather to be regarded as a kind of reconciliation, hardly conceivable to the modern mind, between two moral extremes. Its possibility in the Middle Ages depends on the absolute dualism of the two conceptions, which then dominated all thinking and living (Huizinga 1924: 163).

I would argue that many of the un-Christian elements of the nobility's behaviour may stem not simply from immorality, but rather from their alternating adherence to two ideologies. Even those *defensores* who criticised elements of their ideology were, at

other times, capable of ignoring the fact that they were acting in a fashion condemned by the Church. One of the most frequently mentioned examples is Alfonso X whom Arranz Guzmán accuses of 'incoherencia' since:

si, por un lado, el monarca participó en los funerales de su padre, incluso careció de pudor a la hora de contar los detalles y actitudes que antes su muerte se dieron, plenamente ligados a costumbres precristianas [...], por otro, en las *Partidas* no dudó en seguir la doctrina cristiana (1986: 119).¹

Although Alfonso's participation in the mourning occurred before the writing of the *Partidas* and it could therefore be argued that he later changed his attitude towards it, he was, as Arranz Guzmán observes, quite happy to have his conduct described in the chronicle account of the funeral of Fernando III. If the first draft of the chronicle was 'finished by the early 1270s' (Deyermond 1971: 89) and the *Siete Partidas* were composed 'between 1256 and 1265' (Deyermond 1971: 92), the condemnation of excessive mourning practices would have been written after Alfonso mourned his father but before his own example was recorded in the chronicle. Suero de Quiñones, for his part, can hardly have been unaware of the ecclesiastical condemnation of jousting or its potential consequences, particularly after the death of Asbert de Claramunt. However, despite Suero's obvious desire for the participation of the clergy at Asbert's funeral, the participants of the *Passeo Honroso* continued to joust after the fatal accident for a number of days, apparently not sufficiently impressed by the ecclesiastical sanctions to bring their activities to a close.

The fact that the Church had a cohesive theology (or ideology) which prescribed the conduct of the individual from birth to death and described the subsequent consequences for the soul in the afterlife is not in dispute: it is more than apparent in monumental works such as Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*. The fact that the *defensores* did not always behave in a Christian fashion is readily perceptible from even a cursory

reading of fifteenth-century Castilian history, full as it is of political intrigue and armed conflict, yet it is perhaps simplistic to ascribe this solely to the sinfulness of the human condition or, put in less Christian terms, to natural instincts. Rather, I believe the presence of worldly attitudes often points to the persistence of an alternative ideology, one which, because of its coherence and the high status of those who believed in it, continued in vigour despite the teaching of the Church. From a *defensor* perspective, displays of wealth and power served to reinforce status and honour. The *defensores* were Christians, but they also believed strongly in their warlike values, based on honour. With regard to death, particular areas of conflict between the two ideologies are apparent with regard to the exaltation of the honour which could be won by death in battle, to *fama* and to mourning practices which the Church considered excessive but which reaffirmed the status of the deceased. What I hope to have shown, in respect to the *defensores*' attitudes and responses to death is that their actions are explicable when seen in the light of an alternative set of precepts which they themselves expressed. Furthermore, whether they recognised it or not, those precepts formed a coherent code or ideology. Through comparisons with primary and secondary evidence from earlier and later periods I hope to have provided sufficient evidence to suggest that neither the *orador* and *defensor* ideologies' approach to death, nor the conflict and co-existence between them, were a novelty which arose in the fifteenth century and that while they had their roots in earlier medieval centuries, they continued to have relevance in Castile after 1500.

¹ He is mentioned in this regard by Filgueira Valverde (1945: 519-520) and Camacho Guizado (1969: 30).

VI. APPENDIX A

Breakdown of the causes of death or near-death of the characters in Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*

Person concerned	Evil or bad people (though they may be given 2 nd chance and brought back to life)	Relatively good people (including those reformed bad people on their 2 nd chance)	Very good people (saints, martyrs)
Type of death or near-death			
Drowning	1 ¹		1 ²
Hanging	1 ³		
Suicide	1 ⁴		
Burning	2 ⁵		
Other violent death	5 ⁶		
Saved from drowning		2 ⁷	
Saved from hanging	1 ⁸		
Saved from having throat slit	1 ⁹		
Saved from being eaten by wild animals		1 ¹⁰	
Saved from burning		2 ¹¹	
Dies in bed		2 ¹²	
Sickness		1 ¹³	
No cause or location given.	3 ¹⁴	13 ¹⁵	1 ¹⁶
Other (peaceful)		1 ¹⁷	

¹ Miracle 2, the *sacristán fornicario* falls into a river, 'cadió e enfogóse' (1971: 54).

² Miracle 22, the boat-full of drowned pilgrims who arise from the sea, 'Vidieron palombiellas essir de so la mar' (1971: 179).

³ Miracle 24, the church-robber who is a *lego* 'alzáronlo de tierra con un duro vengejo' (1971: 206).

⁴ Miracle 8, the *romero engañado* 'degollóse' (1971: 82).

⁵ Miracle 16, the *judiezno*'s father is burned in his own furnace, 'dieron con elli entro en el fuego cabdal' (1971: 127).

Miracle 17, the three murderers are afflicted by fire which 'quemávalis los miembros de manera mortal' (1971: 132). The fire does not kill them, but only because they beg for forgiveness, so I have counted this as one death.

⁶ Miracle 1, *Síagro*, Ildefonso's successor, wears his *casulla* and is 'enfogado' (1971: 49) by it.

Miracle 3, *clérigo* is murdered, 'diéronli enemigos salto a est varón, / ovieron a matarlo' (1971: 59).

Miracle 7, the *monje lozano* 'murió por sus peccados por fiera ocasión' (1971: 75).

Miracle 17, the murdered man is described as 'mesquino peccador' (1971: 131), and the Virgin didn't help him, but this does not necessarily mean he was particularly bad.

Miracle 18, the *judíos de Toledo* who made a wax image of Christ which they tormented 'mala muerte prisieron' (1971: 141). I have assumed they were executed because they were captured by the town authorities.

⁷ Miracle 19, the *preñada salvada por la Virgen* (1971: 145).

Miracle 22, the *náufrago salvado por la Virgen*. One could also include in this category the bishop and the others who were able to enter the 'galea o pinaza' (1971: 178) and avoid drowning on board the larger ship, which sank.

⁸ Miracle 6, the *ladrón devoto* is held up by the Virgin (1971: 71).

⁹ Miracle 6, the *ladrón devoto* is saved for a second time by the Virgin who comes between him and the blade (1971: 72).

¹⁰ Miracle 20, the *monje beodo* is saved from a bull, a dog and a lion (1971: 152-153). As this is the first occasion on which he had fallen into a serious sin, I include him among the relatively good individuals.

¹¹ Miracle 14, the monks escape the blaze, 'por pocco fue los monges qe non foron quemados' (1971: 116).

Miracle 16, the *judiezo* 'Issió de la foguera sin toda lissión' (1971: 127).

¹² Miracle 4, 'Bien se cuidó el clérigo del lecho levantar' (1971: 64), but it would appear he was unsuccessful and died there.

Miracle 10, the reformed Estevan 'echóse en su lecho, fizo su oración, / rendió a Dios la alma' (1971: 99).

¹³ Miracle 25, the bishop 'enfermó e murió, fo con Dios a folgar' (1971: 212).

¹⁴ Miracle 10, Estevan dies soon after his brother, 'ante de poccas días fo Estevan finado' but he falls into a different category from Pedro. It is clear that he had far fewer redeeming virtues than his brother as his destination was Hell, not Purgatory, until Proyecto intervened.

Miracle 11, the *labrador avaro* 'Finó' (1971: 103). He seems to have been a borderline case as the mention of his being a 'vassallo e amigo' of the Virgin results in his soul being abandoned by the devils.

Miracle 12, the *prior* is another borderline case. He dies in exile and not in particularly pleasant circumstances but no details are given. We are told only 'Sufrí mucho lazerio, passé mucho mal día' (1971: 108) until the Virgin came and 'púsome en logar do vivré sin periglo' (1971: 108).

¹⁵ Miracle 2, the reformed *sacristán fornicario* 'finó quando Dios quiso sin mala repidencia' (1971: 56).

Miracle 5, when the Virgin finishes speaking to the *pobre caritativo* 'desamparó la alma al cuerpo venturado' (1971: 68).

Miracle 6, the reformed *ladrón devoto* 'quando cumplió so corso murióse de su día' (1971: 72).

Miracle 8, the reformed *romero engañado* 'finó en orden vida buena faciendo' (1971: 85).

Miracle 9, the *clérigo simple* 'finó en su oficio de fin qual yo qerría' (1971: 92).

Miracle 10, I'm assuming that 'el cardenal don Peidro el onrrado' was fairly good, despite his avarice, because on his death his soul 'fo a los purgatorios, do merecié, levado' (1971: 95).

Miracle 12, Uberto *el sacristán* 'murió de fin qual done Dios a todo christiano' (1971: 109).

Miracle 13, the Bishop of Pavia 'Finó por aventura' and was succeeded by Jerónimo who 'fizo buena la vida, la fin mucho mejor' (1971: 113).

Miracle 15, the *calonge* of Pisa disappears on his wedding night thanks to the intervention of the Virgin and he must have died eventually, 'bien allá lo farié posar do ella posa' (1971: 122).

Miracle 21, the bishop who had judged the *abadessa preñada* 'murió' (1971: 169) and was succeeded by her son, to whom 'vino el término qe ovo de finar' (1971: 169).

Miracle 23, the Jew who loaned the *mercader de Bizancio* money becomes a Christian and 'murió enna fe buena' (1971: 195).

¹⁶ Miracle 1 San Ildefonso 'finó' (1971: 48).

¹⁷ Miracle 25, Teófilo, having repented of his sins, 'murió enna eglesia' (1971: 231).

VII. WORKS CITED

Abbreviations

<i>Anuario de estudios medievales</i>	AEM
Biblioteca de Autores Españoles desde la Formación del Lenguaje hasta Nuestros Días	BAE
Biblioteca Románica Hispánica	BRH
<i>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies</i>	BHS
<i>Celestinesca</i>	Cel.
Clásicos Castalia	CC
Clásicos Castellanos	CCa
Estudios y Ensayos	EE
Exeter Hispanic Texts	EHT
Fondo de Cultura Económica	FCE
<i>Hispania: Revista Española de Historia</i>	REH
Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies	HSMS
<i>La corónica</i>	C.
Letras Hispánicas	LH
<i>Modern Language Notes</i>	MLN
New Series	NS
Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar	PMHRS
Queen Mary & Westfield College	QMWC
<i>Revista de Filología Española</i>	RFE
Twayne's World Authors Series	TWAS

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